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# CONTENTS OF VOLUME XI, 1896.

## No. 1. JANUARY—MARCH.

	PAGE.
I.—ANDOKIDES,	
by RICHARD NORTON,	1
II.—PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS,	
I. INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARGIVE HERAEUM,	
by RUFUS B. RICHARDSON,	42
ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS.	
AFRICA (N. Africa, S. Africa, Algeria, Egypt, Nubia, Tripoli, Tunisia);	
ASIA (Arabia, Asia Minor, Assyria, Babylonia, Kypros, Persia, Philis-	
tia, Syria),	
by A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR., and ALLAN MARQUAND,	62

## No. 2. APRIL—JUNE.

I.—PINAX AUS ATHEN,	
by PAUL WOLTERS,	145
II.—HAYHOTIZ,	
by PAUL WOLTERS,	147
III.—GROTESQUE FIGURINE,	
by HENRY W. HAYNES,	150
IV.—PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS,	
I.—THE GYMNASIUM AT ERETRIA,	
by RUFUS B. RICHARDSON,	152
II.—SCULPTURES FROM THE GYMNASIUM AT ERETRIA,	
by RUFUS B. RICHARDSON,	165
III.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE GYMNASIUM AT ERETRIA,	
by RUFUS B. RICHARDSON and T. W. HEERMANCE,	173
NOTES.	
<i>Note from Corinth,</i> . . . . . by T. D. SEYMOUR,	196
<i>Note from Italy,</i> . . . . . by A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR.,	197
ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS.	
EUROPE (Greece, Greek Islands, Krete, Italy, Sardinia, Sicily),	
by A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR., and ALLAN MARQUAND,	205

## No. 3. JULY—SEPTEMBER.

I.—PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS,	
I.—EXCAVATION OF THE THEATRE AT ERETRIA IN 1895,	
by T. W. HEERMANCE,	317
II.—FRAGMENT OF A DATED PANATHENAIC AMPHORA FROM THE GYMNASIUM AT ERETRIA,	
by T. W. HEERMANCE,	331
III.—THE DIMENSIONS OF THE ATHENA PARTHENOS,	
by ANNA LOUISE PERRY,	335
IV.—NOTE ON THE DIMENSIONS OF THE ATHENA PARTHENOS,	
by ALFRED EMERSON,	346
V.—BRONZE-RELIEFS FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS,	
by PAUL WOLTERS,	350

# CONTENTS.

AS12J8

iii

## NECROLOGY.

*Johannes Overbeck*, . . . . . by WALTER MILLER. 361

## NOTES.

*Note from Corinth*, . . . . . by RUFUS B. RICHARDSON, 371

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS.

AFRICA (Abyssinia, Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia); ASIA (Arabia, Asia Minor, Elam, Kypros, Palestine, Syria, Turkestan); EUROPE (Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Greek Islands, Holland, Italy, Krete, Russia, Sicily, Spain, Turkey),  
by A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR., 373

## No. 4. OCTOBER—DECEMBER.

### I.—PAPERS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

I.—REPORT OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE INSTITUTE TO CRETE,  
by FEDERICO HALBHERR, 525

II.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM VARIOUS CRETAN CITIES,  
by FEDERICO HALBHERR, 539

III.—CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS,  
by FEDERICO HALBHERR, 502

## PLATES.

	PAGES.
I. The Theatre at Eretria, . . . . .	317-331
II. The East Parados and Paraskenion of the Theatre at Eretria, . . .	317-331
III. The West Half of the Scaenae Frons and Proskenion of the Theatre at Eretria, . . . . .	317-331

## FIGURES.

	PAGES.
1- 16. Vases by Andokides, . . . . .	1
17. Stele from the Argive Heraeum, . . . . .	42
18. Pinax from Athens, . . . . .	145
19. Vase from the Campana Collection, . . . . .	148
20. Vase from Lokris, . . . . .	149
21. Grotesque Terracotta Figurine from Capua, . . . . .	150
22- 24. The Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	152-165
25- 29. Sculptures from the Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	165-172
30. Stelae showing Inscriptions from Eretria, . . . . .	173-195
31. Marble Basis from Eretria, . . . . .	319
32. Masons' Marks from Eretria, . . . . .	322
33. Fragment of a Panathenaic Amphora from Eretria, . . . . .	322
34- 39. Bronze Reliefs from the Acropolis at Athens, . . . . .	350-360
40. Johannes Overbeck, . . . . .	361
41. Plan of the Baths at the Villa Rustica, Boscoreale, . . . . .	478
42-132. Inscriptions from Various Cretan Cities, . . . . .	539-691
132-146. Christian Inscriptions, . . . . .	601-613

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## ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	PAGES.
AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, PAPERS OF:	
I. Inscriptions from the Argive Heraeum, . . . . .	22
II. The Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	152
III. Sculptures from the Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	165
IV. Inscriptions from the Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	173
V. Excavations of the Theatre at Eretria in 1895, . . . . .	317
VI. Fragment of a Dated Panathenaic Amphora from the Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	331
ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AND INVESTIGATIONS:	
Abyssinia, . . . . .	395
Africa, N., . . . . .	76
Africa, S., . . . . .	76
Algeria, . . . . .	86, 401
Arabia, . . . . .	110, 401
Asia Minor, . . . . .	125, 414
Assyria, . . . . .	107
Austria-Hungary, . . . . .	506
Babylonia, . . . . .	93, 406
Belgium, . . . . .	503
Bulgaria, . . . . .	507
Egypt, . . . . .	62, 373
Elam, . . . . .	405
Europe, . . . . .	424
France, . . . . .	490
Germany, . . . . .	505
Great Britain, . . . . .	513
Greece, . . . . .	205, 427
Greek Islands, . . . . .	251, 442
Holland, . . . . .	504
Italy, . . . . .	257, 297, 467
Krete, . . . . .	256, 449
Kypros, . . . . .	136, 442
Nubia, . . . . .	74
Palestine, . . . . .	123, 413
Persia, . . . . .	92
Philistia, . . . . .	125
Russia, . . . . .	511
Sardinia, . . . . .	294
Sicily, . . . . .	294, 484
Spain, . . . . .	502
Syria, . . . . .	120, 410
Tripoli, . . . . .	77
Tunisia, . . . . .	78, 396
Turkestan, . . . . .	404
Turkey, . . . . .	509
EMERSON (Alfred). Note on the Dimensions of the Athena Parthenos, . . . . .	346
FROTHINGHAM (A. L., Jr.). Archaeological News, . . . . .	62-144, 205-316, 373-524
Note from Italy, . . . . .	197
HALBHERR (Federico). Report on the Expedition of the Institute to Crete, . . . . .	525
Inscriptions from Various Cretan Cities, . . . . .	539
Christian Inscriptions, . . . . .	602
HAYNES (Henry W.). Grotesque Figurine, . . . . .	150
HEERMANCE (T. W.). Inscriptions from the Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	173
Excavation of the Theatre at Eretria, . . . . .	317
Fragment of a dated Panathenaic Amphora from the Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	331
MARQUAND (Allan). Archaeological News, . . . . .	62-144, 205-316
MILLER (Walter). Johannes Overbeck, . . . . .	361
NORTON (Richard). Andokides, . . . . .	1
PERRY (Anna Louise). The Dimensions of the Athena Parthenos, . . . . .	335
RICHARDSON (Rufus B.). Inscriptions from the Argive Heraeum, . . . . .	42
The Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	152
Inscriptions from the Gymnasium at Eretria, . . . . .	173
Note from Corinth, . . . . .	371
WOLTERS (Paul). Pinax from Athens, . . . . .	145
ΠΑΘΟΤΙΣ, . . . . .	147
Bronze Reliefs from the Acropolis at Athens, . . . . .	350



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No. 1.

## ANDOKIDES.

Of all the vase-painters who were at work in Athens in and about the year 525 B. C., Andokides is one of the most interesting. Part of this interest is due to the fact that he seems never to have been careless in his work; so that although his figures are often out of drawing, and always show a power of observation stronger than his power of correct delineation, still his work as a whole is thoroughly good. Another source of interest lies in the fact that he lived at the period when the black-figured ware was going out of fashion and a new style with red figures was taking its place. Andokides did not, however, at once give up the old manner for the new, and we find several vases signed by him, on one side of which is a black-figured picture, while on the other is a red-figured one. He evidently thought both the black and the red forms of decoration were good, and so tried to give his vases an added charm by combining the two styles. The same idea is shown on much later vases, though in these the black decoration has a secondary importance.<sup>1</sup>

Klein, in the second edition of his *Griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, enumerates six vases<sup>2</sup> signed by Andokides. Other students have, however, attributed to him other vases on the strength of the similarity in style between them and the signed

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenti Inediti dell' Instituto Archeologico*, XI, Pl. 19. GERHARD, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, 269, 285. JAHN, *Beschreibung d. Vasensammlung in München*, 411.

<sup>2</sup> Five amphoras and one kylix.



FIG. 1.—OVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.



FIG. 2.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

ones.<sup>3</sup> Klein himself in a single instance attempted to do this. I have not seen the vase itself which he considers to be by Andokides, but, to judge from the plate which he quotes,<sup>4</sup> the vase bears but very little resemblance to the master's signed work.<sup>5</sup>

Owing to the kindness of Professor Furtwaengler, I am now enabled to add several vases to the number of those which, if not actually by Andokides, are at least intimately connected with him. In style they agree absolutely with his signed work; but when one remembers the extreme conventionality of the vase-painting in this early time, a conventionality that controlled even the smallest details, and further our ignorance of the customs of the potters' guild (if one may use the term) in ancient times, it becomes manifest that we can, with safety, only say that these vases show his style and came probably from his workshop. Whether they are actually by him or not, is another question, and one of but secondary importance. The general questions of where and when they were made, and what currents of thought they make manifest, are the important problems to solve. The name of the potter is not of the slightest value. Whether it be Andokides or another it means absolutely nothing to us, for we know nothing about him. An algebraic equation would do quite as well. The very lack of signature on work that is so exactly similar to vases that he did sign is curious. Is it not possible that pupils and assistants were the makers of the unsigned vases? To whomever they are due, such a statement as Klein makes:<sup>6</sup> "Von den schwarz- und rothfigurigen Amphoren gehört ihm auch der grösste Theil der unsignirten," is unproved and misleading.

Before beginning the discussion of the vases, I will add a few notes to Klein. His No. 1<sup>7</sup> has since been published in the

<sup>3</sup> FURTWÄNGLER, *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1881, p. 301; also in ROSCHER'S *Lexikon d. Griech. Mythologie*, I, 2196, l. 58, 2205, l. 51. HAUSER, *Jahrbuch d. k. d. arch. Inst.*, 1893, p. 100, note. WALTERS, *Catalogue of Black-figured Vases in the British Museum*, 193.

<sup>4</sup> NOEL DESVERGERS, *L'Étrurie et les Étrusques*, Pl. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Of this vase, SIX in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1888, p. 196, says: "un vase que M. Klein attribue, à tort à mon avis, à Andokidès."

<sup>6</sup> *Griech. Vasen mit Meistersign.*, 2d ed., p. 188. Cf. his *Euphronios*, p. 36, note.

<sup>7</sup> *Griech. Vasen mit Meistersign.*, p. 189.



FIG. 3.—OVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—MADRID.



FIG. 4.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—MADRID.

catalogue of the Burlington Fine-Arts Club, 1888, No. 108 is here drawn from photographs.

His No. 2 is here given in half-tone (Figs. 1 and 2).

His No. 3, now in Madrid (Figs. 3 and 4). The verb in the inscription has the form ἐπόρεον, not ἐπολεον. Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1893, p. 9.

His No. 5 is here drawn from photographs (Figs. 5 and 6). It is not true that the lyre-player "sitzt auf einem Stuhl." He stands upright (Fig. 6).

No. 6. Published with plate by Scheider in the *Jahrbuch d. k. d. arch. Inst.*, 1889, p. 195, Taf. 4.

The vase which Andokides seems to have made oftenest is the amphora of the form<sup>8</sup> that prevailed in Greece at this period, and all the vases to which I shall call attention are of this type. His style, as is always the case with an artist whose work is bound rather closely by conventionalities, can be learned better from looking at the reproductions of his vases than by a description. His chief characteristics are considerable freedom of composition, great delicacy in drawing, and great wealth of detail.

No. 1. The first vase which I will mention is in the British Museum (Figs. 7 and 8). There is little to be added to the description in the catalogue,<sup>9</sup> but it may be well to point out, more in detail than is done there, the similarity of this vase to the signed work of Andokides. To begin with, if the Athena be compared with the Athena on the Berlin vase,<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 10) the similarity between the two will be seen to be very great. The drawing of the figure, as a whole, with the clothes following exactly the outline of the body, with but a few straight lines to indicate folds at the bottom, is the same in both, and also the same as on one of the signed vases in the Louvre.<sup>11</sup> Further, the rich decoration of her chiton is such as occurs on all the signed vases. The helmet is of the Attic form, which Andokides used only for Athena. To other figures he gave the Corinthian helmet. The figure is unfortunately not completely preserved. The middle part of the

<sup>8</sup> FURTWAENGLER, *Berliner Vasensammlung*, Taf. IV, 35.

<sup>9</sup> *Cat. of the Black-figured Vases in the Brit. Mus.*, No. 193.

<sup>10</sup> GERHARD, *Trinkschalen u. Gefässe i. d. Mus. zu Berlin*, Taf. XIX.

<sup>11</sup> KLEIN, *Griech. Vasen mit Meistersign.*, p. 190, 5.



FIG. 5.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

body, from the breast to the middle of the thigh, including the right hand and wrist and left arm, has been restored. The left hand may have held something—a flower, perhaps, as on the signed Louvre vase. There is no telling what form the ægis had, for the Berlin and Louvre vases show two dissimilar and fantastic forms, while on the similar unsigned vases we find others. The manner in which the hair of Herakles and Iolaos is painted, with slightly raised little lumps of black, occurs also on the Berlin



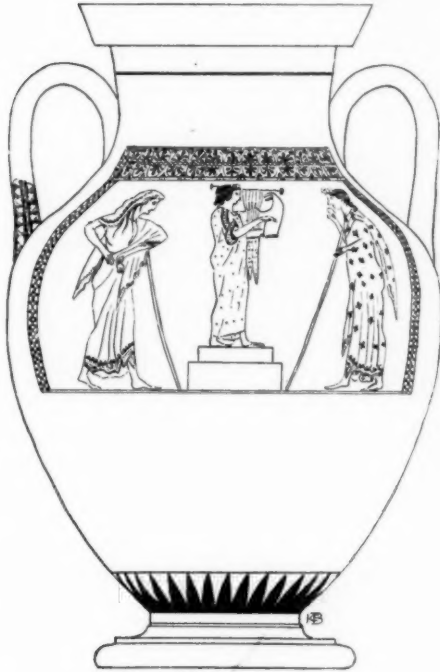


FIG. 6.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

vase. Further, although Andokides was not the only vase-painter who used the form of sword-sheath such as Iolaos here has, still it is the one that occurs almost exclusively on his vases. The overlaying of white and purple paint is another characteristic of the work of Andokides.

This overlaying of red paint on the early red-figured vases is interesting, as showing how the Greek potters did not at first grasp the full force of their new invention, and so often painted details

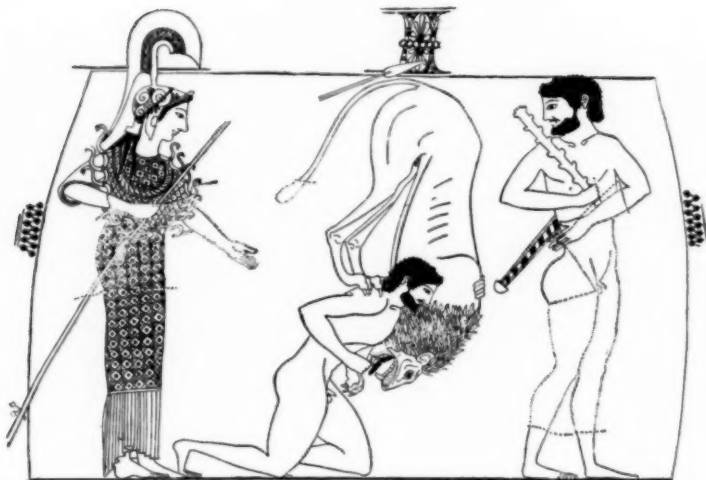


FIG. 7.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA IN THE STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—BRITISH MUSEUM.

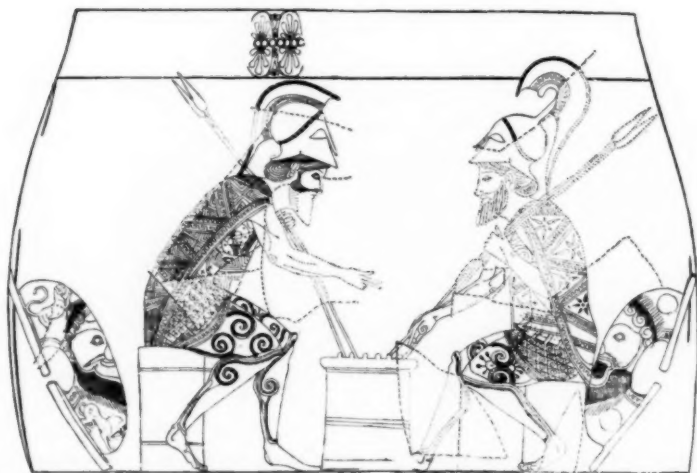


FIG. 8.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA IN THE STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—BRITISH MUSEUM.

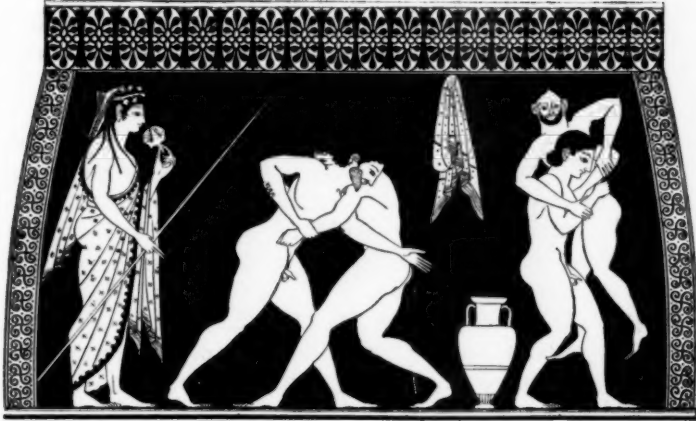


FIG. 9.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—BERLIN.



FIG. 10.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—BERLIN.

of their work in the way they had been used to paint them on black-figured vases. Another illustration of the same fact is shown by an amphora<sup>12</sup> in Munich. On one side is a black-figured scene of heroes playing with *pessi*. Between them stands Athena. On the other side is a red-figured Dionysiac scene. The figures in this latter scene have the round eyes of black-figured work; but what is to be particularly noticed is that most of the main outlines of the scene are *incised*. The artist evidently was so used to black-figured work that he did not realize that red-figured work did away with the necessity of engraved outlines. Another point that illustrates the misconception of the possibilities of the red-figured technique by the potters who first practised it, is that there are vases on which the inner markings of the figures (sometimes all, sometimes only part) are scratched (one can scarcely say incised) by some dull tool. The kylix in Munich, signed by Phintias,<sup>13</sup> is such a vase. Another is a fine amphora in Munich.<sup>14</sup> It belongs to the black and red-figured class. On the black-figured side Herakles, attended by Iolaos, mounts a chariot. At the horses' heads stands Hermes. On the red-figured side Dionysos lies on a *κλίνη* attended by a maenad and a satyr. The names of all the figures are engraved, and also the inscription *Ἰπποκράτης καλός*. The maenad is the figure to be noticed, for the upper part of the chiton is covered by dull incised lines carefully drawn from neck to waist, reminding one of the archaic female statues in Athens.<sup>15</sup>

A careful search in any large vase collection would undoubtedly reveal many more such instances as those above noted.

To return to the discussion of the British Museum vase. As is pointed out in the catalogue, the manner in which Herakles holds the lion (Fig. 7) is, apparently, quite a new invention of the artist,

<sup>12</sup> JAHN, *Cat. d. Vasensamm. in München*, 375. The vase is carelessly drawn.

<sup>13</sup> See KLEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 192. HARTWIG, *Griech. Meisterschalen*, p. 169.

<sup>14</sup> JAHN, 373. One archaeologist to whom I showed this vase felt convinced that it was by Andokides. To my eye the drawing is not good enough for him (note the breasts of the maenad); nor is the detail rich enough, nor the type of face such as he and his assistants (?) drew. Why attribute all vases that are more or less alike to one man?

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also Munich, 373, 374, 378, 410, on which the dresses and bodies in part are so marked.

derived perhaps from the common type of Herakles throwing the boar down on Eurystheus. An unknown predecessor of Andokides seems to have had the same idea as to the way in which Herakles threw the lion, for he has represented the beast lying on his back, while the hero, throttling him with one hand, pounds him with the club.<sup>16</sup>

But it is this very divergence from the hackneyed type of the scene, this attempt to give new life to a composition which became tiresome through incessant repetition, that stamps this vase more certainly than any quantity of technical details could do as being the work of Andokides or his school. I shall recur to this characteristic of his vases again, and it ought to be borne clearly in mind.

The scene on the other side of the vase, of two heroes playing with *pessi* (Fig. 8), looks as though it were but a reworking of the group on a well-known vase by Exekias.<sup>17</sup> The marked similarity between the two scenes need not make us believe that one artist was intimately connected with the other. Granted that this composition was part of the stock in trade of the vase-painters of the transition period (a fact which is absolutely certain), an artist with the technique of Andokides would, if he undertook to draw the scene, of necessity produce much the same picture as Exekias.

It appears, then, that the pictures on this vase agree with the work of Andokides in regard to both form and details; and that, further, the most striking mark of his work—a confidence in his powers of delineation which led him to break free from the bonds of convention—is clearly visible. No one can doubt that the statement in the British Museum catalogue is correct: that the vase is in the style of Andokides. It is either by him or some one working under him.

No. 2. This amphora, of the same type as the others, is in the Louvre (Figs. 11 and 12). On the black-figured side (Fig. 11) is Dionysos in white chiton and striped and dotted himation, which is drawn under the right arm and thrown back over the left shoulder. He stands to the right. He is crowned with ivy and holds in his left hand a conventionalized vine with bunches

<sup>16</sup> GERHARD, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, Taf. 94.

<sup>17</sup> *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888. Taf. VI, 1.



FIG. 11.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA IN THE STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

of grapes thereon. In his right hand he holds a kantharos, which an ivy-crowned maenad, clad in the same way as Dionysos, but with black and dotted chiton, fills from an oinochoe in her right hand. Following her comes a bearded and ivy-crowned satyr carrying a wine-skin over his left shoulder. Dionysos is followed by two similar satyrs, of whom the first one plays a lyre. He also has a bit of drapery over his left shoulder. The one behind plays with *krotala*.

On the red-figured side (Fig. 12), on the right, Kerberos, with two heads, a snake rising from the forehead of each, and a snake-tail stands to the left, under a conventionalized Doric building. Herakles, clad in short tunic and lion's skin, armed with bow, quiver and sword, stoops towards the dog. He holds a chain in his left hand, while he stretches out his right with a petting gesture.

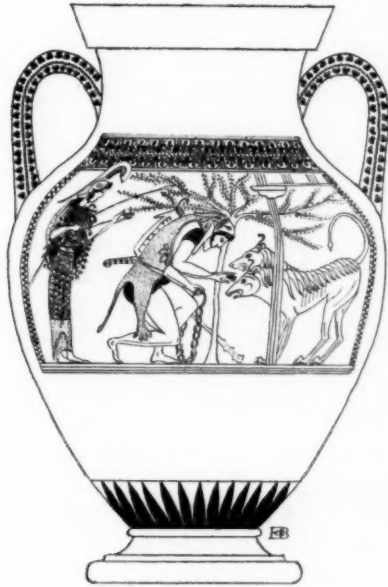


FIG. 12.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA IN THE STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

Between the two is a tree, against which leans Herakles' club. Behind Herakles stands, to the right, Athena, clad in a richly-decorated Ionic chiton. She wears an ægis without gorgoneion, and an Attic helmet, and she carries a spear in her right hand; she stretches her left towards the hero.

In technique this vase agrees perfectly with those by Andokides. The Athena is almost a replica of the figure on the British Museum vase, and consequently bears a similar relationship to the Athenas on the signed vases. The most noticeable characteristic of the figure of Herakles is the attempt of the artist to render a natural attitude—an attempt which is in large degree successful.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> A similar representation of the scene is mentioned by FURTWAENGLER as being in the *Apparat d. Berl. Mus.*, *Mappe*, 12, 10. See ROSCHER'S *Lexikon*, I, 2205, l. 50. The same scene on a black-figured amphora in Moscow (see *Jahrbuch d. k. d. Arch. Inst. zu Berlin*, 1893, pp. 156-7) shows Andokides' superiority to his predecessors.

This attempt to reproduce more natural and more complicated attitudes than his predecessors had succeeded in representing is the most distinctive, though not the most noticeable, characteristic of Andokides. The peculiarities of his technique, though they resemble those of other artists, are his most noticeable characteristic, and are likely to blind one to the real interest of his work, which lies in the fact that he shows on almost every vase that is certainly by him an endeavor to attain a greater freedom, be it in subject or treatment, than that of his predecessors. We have noticed this in the Herakles scene on the British Museum vase, and it is very marked on the signed amphoras. On the Berlin vase the groups of athletes (Fig. 9) with their intermingled and foreshortened bodies, and the figures of hares in place of the usual palmettes under the handles, and on one of the Louvre vases the swimming girls show clearly the direction of his artistic endeavor.

The black-figured scene on this vase is less well drawn than any of the signed work, and in this respect is similar to the unsigned vase in Bologna of which I shall speak later. The satyrs are of the same type (with long hair and horses' ears) as those on the signed vases at Madrid and Castle Ashby, though in the latter case their hair is cut short. This similarity, however, is not evidence for or against the vase being the work of Andokides, because it was the usual type at this time. The bad drawing is, on the contrary, distinctly against such an origin. The drawing of the muscles of the satyrs is quite different from that of Andokides, and worse than his, though his is none too good. The most marked difference occurs in the drawing of the stomach muscles. On the vase under consideration they are done in a manner at once hasty, conventional and incorrect. On the Madrid and Castle Ashby vases, Andokides has indicated them with a general accuracy, and has also suggested the ribs, which the artist of this vase fails to do. Further, Andokides, on the signed vases just referred to, shows more or less knowledge of the articulation of the knee; whereas the artist of this vase draws it in two different and equally bad ways. Similar bad drawing is shown in the two principal figures of Dionysos and the Maenad. Both of them are wooden and lifeless, and remind one of the figures on earlier black-figured vases; while in the drapery of neither is



Andokides's love of delicate ornament and fine folds visible. In fact, this black-figured picture and the one on the Bologna vase described below do not agree in style with the work of Andokides. The red-figured scenes on the same vases agree much better. It is quite possible that he made both the vases, but it is equally possible that some underling made them in his shop.

No. 3.<sup>19</sup> This vase, an amphora like all the others, is in Bologna (Figs. 13 and 14). On the red-figured side Dionysos, with long locks and hair bound by a fillet, stands to the right (Fig. 13). He wears an Ionic chiton covered with small dots and an himation with round spots, each surrounded by a circle of dots. In his left hand he holds a branch of grapevine on which are bunches of grapes—the outlines being incised, as is the hair of the figures. In his right hand he has a kantharos. Towards him steps a maenad clad in Ionic chiton decorated with crosses and half maeanders. Over her head she has a hood of the same stuff. A chlamys ornamented with dots and crosses hangs on her shoulder; the ends, one crossing her breast and one her back, are thrown over her right arm, which she holds toward her face, as though smelling the flower in her hand. In her left hand she carries a lyre. She wears large earrings with pendants and a necklace. Behind each of these figures is a satyr with a fillet in his long hair. The one on the left plays a flute, which he holds in his right hand, while he has another in his left. The one on the right holds his right hand open and slightly outstretched, his left clenched and at his side.

On the black-figured side Herakles, in cuirass and short tunic, with sword at side, strides to the right, grasping the Nemean lion in his arms (Fig. 14). The lion stands on his hind legs and has a dotted mane. Behind this group is Iolaos, dressed in the same way as his master. He too has a sword. Both his arms are bent at the elbows; in his right hand he holds the club of Herakles resting on his shoulder; in his left the bow. In front of the group is Athena, striding to the right. She is clad in a long ornamented chiton, and is armed with spear, helmet

<sup>19</sup> Mentioned by FURTWAENGLER in ROSCHER'S *Lex.*, I, 2196, l. 68. I am told by Dr. Fried. Hauser, of Stuttgart, that there is a capital drawing of it in the *Apparat des Rom. Inst.*



FIG. 13.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA IN STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—BOLOGNA.



FIG. 14.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA IN STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—BOLOGNA.

and shield. The symbol on the latter is a lion's head. She turns her head to look at the fight.

At the first glance one sees that this vase belongs to the same set as the others, and a minute examination brings conviction that, if not by Andokides himself, it is very probably the product of his shop. The satyrs are of the same type that we have seen before on these vases; and if the drawing of their knees seems hardly good enough for Andokides, still the freedom with which the figures are drawn, and the general naturalness of their attitudes, are eminently in his spirit. Further, the draperies of the two central figures on the red-figured side, with their rich and delicately drawn patterns, the fine folds and the manner in which they follow the outline of the figure, are exactly correspondent to the draperies on the signed vases. The maenad is, however, the figure which both as a whole and in every detail shows the spirit of Andokides. The freedom with which her body is bent at every joint distinguishes her from the work of the earlier vase painters, such as Amasis and Exekias, as clearly as it shows the same feeling for naturalism that Andokides shows in his swimming girls, in the capital foreshortening of the Athena on the Berlin vase, or the figures standing by the lyre-player on the Louvre vase. As I have said before, it is this, in great measure successful, attempt to make his accuracy of hand equal his sharpness of vision that distinguishes Andokides from other potters of his time. The visual comparison between this figure and the two maenads by Amasis<sup>20</sup> shows this more clearly than words can. Beyond this general similarity there is a farther one of details. The gesture of holding a flower occurs on the Berlin vase and twice on one of the Louvre vases. It is, however, a gesture so common that its occurrence on this vase is hardly more than negative evidence in favor of the theory that the vase is by Andokides. The way, however, in which the further side of the maenad's chiton is shown at the bottom, is a characteristic which is, I believe, confined to Andokides and his school. It occurs on all the signed vases on which there are figures in chitons, and is another indication of the artist's attempt at naturalism. Still further evidence is afforded by the earring, made of a large circle of gold (?) with

<sup>20</sup> *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, 1889. Taf. III, 2.

heavy pendants. This and similar large forms occur several times on the signed vases.<sup>21</sup> Similar earrings were used by Amasis to deck out his figures, but other artists at this time seem not to have used them.

It is such little details as this that mark the individuality of Andokides, and show how he was striving to make his art a means of personal expression in preference to a mere conveyance for stereotyped, and hence lifeless, forms. If we look at the signed vases (for, of course, we can argue from them alone, though all remarks of a general character that I make about them will be found to hold good of the unsigned vases as well), we see that he rarely repeated details. The figures of Athena are in both the instances where they occur considerably alike, but the artist shows his fancy and taste for variety in the differing forms of her ægis and in all the finer details of her dress. If we continue this comparison of the figures of Athena to the unsigned vases, the general similarity combined with differences of detail becomes more and more marked. This general likeness, and the stiffness which is strongly marked in her figure, may be due to the artist's feeling of reverence for the gods, and more particularly to his reverence for traditional religious symbols *per se*. The same stiffness, and a look of greater archaism than one sees in his human figures, are plain also in the figures of Dionysos. Although aiming to make his pictures as lifelike as possible, and doubtless sharing the common belief that gods and goddesses possessed human forms and appeared, as he depicted them, on earth among men, he yet was not entirely free of the feeling that an indescribable something of divinity rested in the statues themselves of the divinities which he worshipped, as his ancestors had done before him. And so when he came to draw these divinities, instead of lending them the life he did the other figures, he copied some statue—or at least repeated types which were originally derived from statues.<sup>22</sup> There is no reason to doubt that a statue was the

<sup>21</sup> Once on the Berlin vases and six or seven times (the photograph which I have of the vase does not allow me to be certain) on the signed "Amazon" vase in the Louvre.

<sup>22</sup> Types exactly similar in general style to those of Andokides are of so frequent occurrence on the earlier vases that it is probable the feeling I have assumed was held by Andokides was common to the majority of his countrymen.

model for the Athena. That such types existed in sculpture at this time the figure of the goddess in the west pediment of the temple at Aegina shows—a figure which agrees almost perfectly with these figures on the vases. The head on the early Attic coins is also very similar, though the crest of the helmet naturally had to be altered to suit the shape of the coin. It is worth while noticing, however, that the helmet is of the Attic type (on the coins, without cheekpieces), which was the only one given Athena at this time. What adds strength to the belief that Andokides had some statue in his mind when he drew this figure, is the fact that, beyond the general similarity of the figures, the helmets, even down to the scrolls upon them, are almost copies one of another.

The same love of variety of detail is noticeable on the Amazon vase in the Louvre. Of the three Amazons, each one is differently dressed from the other two, and on the other side of the vase no two of the swimmers are alike. So on the other vase in the Louvre, the two men who listen to the lyre-player are unlike in dress and gesture, while on the opposite side of the vase the two warriors differ from each other in every detail.

Turning now to the black-figured side of the Bologna vase, we notice the same poorness of work as compared with the red-figured side that we saw on the unsigned vase in the Louvre. The Athena is as ill-drawn a figure as could be found on a pan-Athenaic amphora. The drawing of the knees of Herakles and Iolaos shows the same misunderstanding that is visible on the Louvre vase. The drawing of the feet and legs is also unusually bad. But together with all these dissimilarities to the certain work of Andokides, there are many similarities, such as the delicacy and detail of the drawing, the shape and decorations of the sword scabbard, the use of purple-red for the beards of the figures,<sup>23</sup> and the foreshortenings of Athena's shield. The same conclusion that we formed in regard to the other unsigned vases is the best here—that the vase is not by Andokides himself, but was very probably produced under his direct supervision.

No. 4. The vase that now comes under consideration is in

<sup>23</sup> My photograph of the vase does not allow me to be absolutely sure of this, but I think there is no doubt.

the Faina collection in Orvieto.<sup>24</sup> Both sides are red-figured. On one Herakles, to the right, shoots an arrow at two Amazons who attack him. Behind him stands Athena turned to right. At his feet lies a third Amazon, who raises her hand, imploring mercy. A fourth, behind the first two, is wounded in the thigh and walks off to the right, turning, however, to look at the battle. Herakles is clad in a lion's skin, the fur of which is indicated by dots, and a short but gaily-patterned tunic. He is armed with bow, quiver and sword. Athena, armed with spear, helmet and shield (sign, a gorgoneion), seems almost a copy of the figure of the same goddess on the signed vases.<sup>25</sup> Of the Amazons, the one on the ground leans on her left arm and raises the right towards Herakles. She is armed with shield (sign, a flying bird and dots) and sword. She wears a short tunic covered with patterns—maeanders, dots, stripes and rows of animals (?). Her hair is gathered together in a dotted hood, and she wears large, round earrings. Of the two fighting Amazons, the farther one is armed with a Korinthian helmet, the top decorated with a scale pattern, spear, shield (sign, rays) and greaves (edges ornamented). The nearer one has a short spotted tunic and her hair gathered into a hood. She has large earrings with three pendants, a necklace, and is armed with spear, sword and shield (sign, flying bird within a circle of dots). The wounded Amazon also has her hair in a hood(?) and is clad in a short dotted tunic with a dotted chlamys over her shoulders. She is armed with a bow.

On the other side of the vase Dionysos, bearded, stands to the right, playing a lyre. He wears an Ionic(?) chiton patterned with dots and crosses and an himation of the same pattern. Before him stands "una donna [a maenad] (orecchini) che porta un cantaro ed un' oenochoe."<sup>26</sup> She is crowned with ivy(?), as are also the two bearded satyrs behind Dionysos. Both of these latter have long hair, and one carries the other on his shoulders. The field of the design is filled by branches of grape-vine, on

<sup>24</sup> See *Ann. dell' Instit.*, 1877, p. 133.

<sup>25</sup> The photographs which I had taken of the vase are so extremely bad that it is impossible to be absolutely certain in respect to some details.

<sup>26</sup> I take the description of this figure from the *Annali* because I can make absolutely nothing of my photograph.

which hang bunches of grapes, the outlines of which are incised, and the single grapes made by little lumps of black. Whether the vine leaves are laid on with red paint, or made in true red-figured technique, I cannot tell.

As in the case of the other unsigned vases, one can see at once that this vase is closely connected with Andokides. The love of fine detail, the delicacy and accuracy of the drawing, the naturalness and complication of the two scenes, is just what we have seen on his signed vases. Of the figures which compose the scene of Herakles and the Amazons, Athena is the only one who is stiff and awkward,—but this difference between her and the other figures I have already explained. In detail she seems to be precisely like the Athena on the Berlin vase; the foreshortening of her shield (*cf.* also that of the fallen Amazon) being a very noticeable point of similarity. But it is the bold way in which the artist did not hesitate to throw his figures together in any way that might make the scene seem vivid and lifelike, that stamps the vase with certainty as being either by Andokides himself or by a pupil of his. The way in which Herakles strides over the fallen Amazon, who, leaning on her left arm, raises her right hand towards the hero, is exactly similar, in the expression that it gives of a marked tendency towards naturalism of design, to the swimming girls on the Louvre vase and to the wrestlers on the amphora in Berlin. Very similar wounded figures occur on the signed kylix in Palermo, though in this case they are not quite so well drawn—probably owing to their small size. Other details beside the decorations of the dresses, that agree with the signed vases, are the earrings with their large form and elaborate decoration of pendants.<sup>27</sup> Further, the sword scabbards are of just the form and decoration Andokides seems to have preferred,<sup>28</sup> and the decorated greaves of one of the fighting Amazons can be partially matched by those of one of the warriors on the signed Louvre vase. The difference in the way the Amazons are dressed and armed finds its counterpart in the Amazons on the Louvre vase.

<sup>27</sup> *Cf.* signed "Amazon" vase in Louvre and Berlin vase.

<sup>28</sup> *Cf.* Berlin and both signed Louvre vases. Their occurrence also invariably on the unsigned vases, which I have tried to show came from Andokides' workshop, adds probability but not proof to this vase having the same origin as the others.



The variety in the way the figures on these vases are armed is very noticeable. It does not occur on the Palermo kylix, but there the small size of the vase, just as it led Andokides to be rather less elaborate in his drawing than on the amphoras, was also the cause, probably, of the lesser elaboration of detail. The two warriors on the signed Louvre vase are a good case in point. Except the two spears, not a single weapon or article of the one is like the corresponding weapon or article of the other. One warrior wears thigh-protectors, the other has none; one has a round, the other a Boiotian shield; one has a double crest on his Korinthian helmet, the other has a dog (?) or fox (?), whose tail forms the crest proper. And so on.

Helmets were an article on which Andokides seems to have enjoyed letting his imagination play. On the two signed Louvre vases there are three Korinthian helmets, each of which is different from the other two. A helmet with a dog on it occurs on a vase by Amasis<sup>29</sup> and on a much later red-figured vase,<sup>30</sup> but it seems never to have been a common type, and the extra weight of the bronze animal would have made it impracticable for actual use. The type with double crests, such as the other warrior on the Louvre vase has, was common enough. It was known even as early as Homer's time,<sup>31</sup> and occurs again and again on vases. There were, however, two or more ways of arranging these crests. Either they rose from the sides of the helmet, over the top, in converging curves like horns,<sup>32</sup> or else they were arranged as on this vase, one in front and one behind, on the long axis of the helmet. Helbig does not acknowledge this arrangement, but says: "Diese letzten Darstellungsweise ist, wie es scheint, nur dadurch veranlasst, dass es sehr schwierig war, einer solchen Helm [one with the crests rising from the sides] in der Profilansicht zu deutlichen Ausdrücke zu bringen, da hierbei die dem Betrachter zunächst befindliche Röhre die andere deckte." There

<sup>29</sup> *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, 1889, III, 3b.

<sup>30</sup> BAUMEISTER, *Denk. d. klass. Alterthums.*, abb. 505 = *Bullet. arch. Napol.*, I, Tav. 7.

<sup>31</sup> See HELBIG, *Das Homerische Epos*, p. 301.

<sup>32</sup> HELBIG, fig. 105. Cf. fragment of vase by Nikosthenes, *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1891, Taf. VI, 4b. Also amphora in Munich, No. 13 (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, 114), and Munich, Nos. 579, 1333, 1295.

are, however, two points that go against this view, at least so far as Andokides is concerned. The first is that he not only shows no signs of having been afraid to attempt to draw objects that were foreshortened, but, on the contrary, seems to have enjoyed doing so. Athena's shield and the athletes on the Berlin vase, the chariot on the Castle Ashby vase, the satyrs on the one in Madrid, or the swimming girls on the one in the Louvre, prove convincingly that Andokides was not afraid of the difficulties of his art. Furthermore, it is very risky, when dealing with the work of a man who drew as well as Andokides, to say that had he known enough he would have represented objects in a manner different from that in which he has represented them. There is, however, another fact that is perhaps even more convincing. Before thinking that Andokides made a mistake in his drawing, one must ask the question: Is there any reason to suppose that such a helmet did not exist? On the ground of balancing the helmet, this method of arranging the crests is just as practical, I believe, as arranging them like horns; and the only reason against it would be that it seems as though having the tail of the crest hanging in front of his face must have been inconvenient to the warrior. But against this supposition may be brought two facts. The first is that the tail of the crest is rather short. The second is that, whether inconvenient or not, such a type occurs with a single crest. On the "Amazon" vase by Andokides, in the Louvre, between the feet of the horse, there is resting on the ground a Korinthian helmet, from the top of which rises an oval knob. In front of the knob is a horn-like object curving towards the front, to the top of which is fastened a crest (presumably of colored horsehair)<sup>33</sup> which falls in front of the helmet. The oval knob must be, I think, to balance the weight of the crest and its support. Whether this support was a real horn or merely made of metal we cannot tell with certainty, but it is safe to assume that if of metal it was meant to be an imitation of a horn. It has the shape of a horn, and in this differs from the usual crest support, which is of the same thickness from end to end and probably of rectangular section. Furthermore, horns were used as decora-

<sup>33</sup> See HELBIG, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

tion of helmets. Herodotos<sup>34</sup> tells of a race who formed part of Xerxes' host, and who had ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ κέρα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι. Such helmets as these, with crests and horns (but without ears), occur on the famous vase fragment from Mykenai<sup>35</sup> and on the Klazomenai sarcophagi.<sup>36</sup>

Another type of helmet which falls midway between the one with a single crest falling to the front and the one with two crests (each having its own support), one of which falls in front and one behind, is shown on a sarcophagus also from Klazomenai,<sup>37</sup> on which a warrior is represented with a helmet, from the top of which rises a single horn-like support, from which depend two crests, one to the front and one to the back. Hence, although Helbig is probably right in thinking that some of the earliest painters may have represented helmet-crests which in reality fell over the sides, as though they fell to the front and back, still there can be no doubt, I think, that this latter type existed.

The Dionysiac scene on the other side of the Orvieto vase is quite as markedly in the style of Andokides as the Herakles scene. The richly ornamented draperies worn by Dionysos, which cling close, showing the outline of his body, the numerous and fine folds and the long, hanging ends of his himation, are such as I have called attention to several times on the signed vases. The taste for variety of movement and complicated positions comes out well in the group of the two satyrs, one of whom carries the other on his shoulders.<sup>38</sup> We may conclude, then, that this vase also was made at least by a pupil of, if not by, Andokides himself.

No. 5. This amphora is in Munich (No. 388). It belongs to the red and black-figured class.

<sup>34</sup> VII, 76. Stein thinks they were the Pisidians. There is a lacuna in the text. Cf. statue of warrior from Delos, No. 247, in the Athens Museum.

<sup>35</sup> SCHLIEHMANN, *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, p. 133. With this fragment and the one represented on p. 139, cf. Homer, *Il.* x, 260 ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, B'd I, Hft. 4. Taf. 44-46. Cf. black-figured amphora in Munich, No. 3.

<sup>37</sup> *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, IV, Pl. 31.

<sup>38</sup> For similar groups see *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1890, Pl. 12. *Roem. Mitt.*, 1891, p. 290 (Petersen). Catalogue of Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum, Pl.

On the black-figured side Herakles, the lower part of his body draped in a black and red-striped robe covered with a star pattern, lies to the left on a *kline* under a grapevine. He is bearded and curly-haired, each curl being engraved. In front of the *kline* is a small table on which stands a kylix and food. Above Herakles hang his bow, quiver and sword. In front of him stands Athena (to right) armed with Attic helmet, ægis and spear, and clad in a striped (black and red) Doric chiton. She stretches her right hand towards Herakles. The ægis fits her like a cuirass. A line of interwoven snakes runs up her back, and also from her throat to her waist. This form of ægis is due to the artist's imperfect understanding of the limits of profile drawing. He wanted to show all the snakes which were on both edges of the ægis, and could have been seen only from in front, and so he drew them in this manner. It is simply another of the innumerable instances in which the Greek artist represented part of a figure in full front and part in profile.

Behind Herakles stands (to right) a small, nude servant; his left hand hangs open by his side, his right is stretched over the top of a large *deînos*, which stands in front of him on an elaborately carved support. His hair is drawn in the same way as that of Herakles. Behind Athena is Hermes (to right) clad in dotted tunic with mæander border at neck and bottom; also a striped (red and black) and dotted chlamys. Both arms are bent across his breast. He is bearded, his hair is long, one lock falling over his shoulder, and along his brow are little spiral curls.

On the red-figured side the scene is similar. Herakles lies (to left) on a richly decorated *kline*.<sup>39</sup> His himation, patterned with dots and crosses, covers him completely but for his right arm and

<sup>39</sup> In Jahn's catalogue this figure is called Dionysos. This is surely a mistake, for such a type as this of Athena and Dionysos did not exist, and it is one of the typical ones for Athena and Herakles. (See GERHARD, *Trinkschalen*, Taf. c, 8. Cf. also ROSCHER's *Lexikon d. Griech. und Röm. Myth.*, I, 2215). It is true that none of Herakles' usual attributes are represented, but the artist may have thought that, as he had put them on the opposite side of the vase, they were not needed here. Furthermore, the figure has not the characteristics which Andokides gave Dionysos. On the vase in Madrid and the one in Castle Ashby he has long hair. So also on the unsigned Louvre and Bologna vases, and I think on the one in Orvieto. Here, however, the hair is short, and in this and the red beard the hair agrees perfectly with the type of Herakles drawn by Andokides on the Berlin vase and with the type on the unsigned vases in London, Paris and Orvieto.

breast. He is bearded (purple overlaid) and has a wreath of leaves (purple overlaid) in his hair. His left arm rests on a richly embroidered cushion, and in his left hand he holds a kantharos. His right hand clasps his raised right knee. Before the *kline* is a small table, on which are a kylix and various offerings of food. Over and about the *kline* a grape-vine stretches its branches. The leaves are made with purple paint overlaid. At the foot of the *kline* stands Athena clad in a Doric chiton (of a diaper pattern of crosses and dots), and armed with Attic helmet, spear and aegis. She has a flower in her right hand, which she stretches towards Herakles.

A superficial examination is quite sufficient to enable one to see that this vase is closely connected with Andokides and his school. There is the same delicacy of technique and richness of detail that characterize Andokides' work. But beyond this the similarity of certain figures and details on this vase to those on the signed vases can hardly be explained except by the supposition that this and the signed vases were made in the same workshop. The figure of Athena, for instance, is, but for the absence of the shield and the different form of the aegis, almost a duplicate of the Athena on the Berlin vase. Her helmet, her face with queerly-drawn chin and mouth, her dress (note the way the further side shows between her feet), are as nearly alike as two things can be that are not absolute copies one of the other. Her gesture of holding the flower occurs again on the signed Louvre vase, and was, as I have already noted, a gesture frequently adopted by Andokides and his school. But if the likeness between the Athena on this vase and the figures of the same goddess on the signed amphoras is marked, it is still more noticeable between this and some of the other unsigned vases. But for a difference in size the Athena on the British Museum vase and the one on the Munich vase are almost absolute replicas of each other. The pattern of the dress is exactly the same, even in the way it stops at the knees. The bottom of the dress and the feet on one vase are almost indistinguishable from those on the other—even the decorations of the helmet repeat one another almost exactly. The figure of Athena on the unsigned Louvre vase can scarcely be differentiated from these other two. Naturally the comparison of

one unsigned vase with another proves nothing as to their authorship, and all I wish to show is that the reasons I adduce for connecting one of these unsigned vases with Andokides hold good for all of them.

If, further, the figure of Herakles, particularly the head, be compared with the figures on the signed vases, the similarity of form and technique will be seen to be very marked. It is true that the freedom of composition and search for naturalism of representation which I have attempted to show was Andokides' chief characteristic, is hardly noticeable on this vase, but there are traces of it in the manner in which Herakles' leg shows through the drapery, and in the folds of the himation about his arm and waist. But though less distinctly marked by the characteristics which distinguish the known work of Andokides than the other vases in our list, this vase belongs to the same class, that is to the vases made under his influence and probably his direct supervision, and which for all purposes of the broader study of ceramography may be considered together with his signed works. The fact that the vase shows less clearly than some others the special characteristics of Andokides does not invalidate this statement, for the works of any artist, even of one hampered by conventionalities and ignorance, vary from one another often very greatly.

The chief points to notice in the black-figured picture are the delicacy of drawing, and the fact that the scene is not as well drawn as the red-figured one—a difference that, as I have said above, occurs also on the Louvre and Bologna vases.

No. 6. This, the last vase to consider, is a red-figured amphora, of which, unfortunately, only fragments remain.<sup>40</sup> They are in the collection of Dr. Friedrich Hauser, in Stuttgart, to whom I owe the most sincere thanks for his great generosity in sending me and putting entirely at my disposal, his own drawings of them.

On one side of the vase is Herakles and the Nemean Lion.<sup>41</sup> Athena and Iolaos stand by. Herakles leans over to the right

<sup>40</sup> *Jahrbuch*, 1893, p. 100, note 15.

<sup>41</sup> The condition of the fragments does not allow a very detailed description of the scene.

(grasping the lion around the body?). Above him hang his bow and quiver. Behind Herakles stands Athena clad in an ornamented chiton and ægis and armed with Attic helmet and spear. Behind the lion is Iolaos. He is bearded, has fillet in his hair, and holds Herakles's club, which is shown merely by an incised outline in the black background.

On the other side, on the left, a woman clad in chiton and himation, both of dotted pattern, stands to the right, talking with a hoplite. Behind him is a horseman, to the right, who wears an elaborate chlamys (the arrangement of which is not quite clear) and carries two spears. In front of and facing the horseman is a bowman in Scythian costume.

That this vase is closely related to the Andokides vases is clear, but I do not believe that it is by Andokides himself. If it is by him, it certainly falls far below the standard of his signed work. It is true that in the Herakles scene the Athena bears a marked resemblance to the figures of the same goddess on the Berlin and Louvre signed vases, but a close examination shows that this resemblance is not so great as it seems at first sight to be.\* As I have frequently said, the sureness, delicacy and abundance of detail of Andokides' drawing form one of his most marked characteristics. These qualities are all lacking in the fragment. The helmet crest, the snakes of the ægis and the feet are all drawn with an unsteady hand. The crest does not show the very delicate decoration that those of the Athenas on the signed vases, and even on the unsigned ones exhibit, but has instead a more clumsy stripe. Then the uncertain and irregular drawing of the patterns on the dress and of the scales on the ægis is very different from the decisive, almost mechanical, work on the two signed vases. Further, to obviate the difficulty of making the quiver-strap and club red-figured, the artist painted the former with purple paint overlaid on the black background and merely incised the outline of the latter. The Louvre "Amazon" vase shows that Andokides was not troubled by such difficulties incident to the red-figured technique. The legs and feet of Herakles and Iolaos are poorly drawn, and the head of the latter is not at all of the same type as that found on the signed vases; the mouth, nose, eyes, in fact every part, including the way the hair is made, by little dots of overlaid purple, are different.



On the other side of the vase the same general similarity to Andokides' work is visible, but also the same unlikeness. The figure on the left looks like figures by Andokides, but differs, just like the Athena, from the signed figures in being badly drawn. If any figure with a spotted chiton by Andokides be compared with this one, the irregularity and clumsiness of the pattern on the fragment will at once be seen to be in marked contrast to the extremely careful work of the master. The same criticism holds good in regard to the bowman. Of the horse it is difficult to speak, there is so little of him left; but I think he is a rather more thin-necked, flat-chested type than Andokides drew. But as a horse occurs only once on the signed vases, it is almost quite useless to endeavor to draw any deductions from the way he is drawn.

In neither of the pictures is there any sign of an endeavor on the part of the artist to attain any realism of representation, such as I have tried to point out on the signed vases. Taken all in all, we may safely conclude that the artist of the fragments was *not* Andokides, but was of the same period and probably influenced by him—perhaps was one of his assistants.

## II.

The study of these vases in their detailed aspect suggests one or two problems of a general but important character which need to be considered. One of these is the date at which Andokides lived, another is the origin of the red-figured technique.

The first of these can be settled with comparative accuracy. Loeschke<sup>12</sup> has pointed out the similarity in style between the basreliefs of the middle part of the sixth century B. C. and the vases of Exekias and his contemporaries. Further, among the rubbish used by Kimon to build up the Akropolis in Athens, after its burning by the Persians, have been found vase fragments of the styles of Exekias and Epiktetos, and some of even more advanced red-figured work than that of the latter master. Hence the Andokides and other vases of the transition period must be set several years earlier than the Persian Wars. Just how many

<sup>12</sup> *Athen. Mitth.*, IV, 289 f. Taf. II.



years it is impossible to say. Hartwig, however, has shown good reason to believe that the beginning of the activity of Euphronios was about 500 B. C.<sup>43</sup> Hence, if we allow twenty-five or thirty years for the advances in power of drawing, *etc.*, which distinguish vases of transition period from those of the still hampered, but notwithstanding much freer, style of Euphronios and his contemporaries, we shall probably not be far wrong. Still another bit of evidence is to be derived from an inscription discovered on the Akropolis,<sup>44</sup> which reads: *Νησιάδης κεραμεύς με καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ἀνέθηκεν*. That this Andokides was the vase painter whose works we have been studying, there seems no reason to doubt, for the inscriptions found on the Akropolis show that it was a not uncommon event for the vase painters to set up an offering to the goddess.<sup>45</sup> The inscription belongs to the latter half of the sixth century B. C. From all this evidence we get tolerably certain evidence as to where Andokides lived and are also able to date him very accurately.

Bearing in mind, now, when and where Andokides worked, it will be well to see what relation his work bears to that of his predecessors. Klein<sup>46</sup> says of his work: "Exekias blickt als Vorbild überall durch, so dass die Vermuthung er wäre sein Lehrer gewesen, sehr nahe liegt. Schon die Gefässformen und die beträchtlichen Dimensionen erinnern an ihn." The idea expressed in the second sentence is manifestly valueless in the discussion. The shape of amphora used by Andokides was a development from earlier forms and was in common use in his day. Exekias neither invented it, nor was he the sole user of it in the generation preceding Andokides. Finally, of the four amphoras that are signed by Exekias, only *one* has the form used by Andokides. Further, no argument lies in the fact that of the five amphoras signed by Andokides, four of them happen to be of a size that corresponds to certain vases we have by Exekias. The number of signed vases we have by either master is altogether too

<sup>43</sup> HARTWIG, *Die Griechischen Meisterschalen*, p. 1 ff.

<sup>44</sup> CIA. 393. *Jahrbuch*, II (1887), p. 145.

<sup>45</sup> Dedicatory inscriptions have been found, besides the one quoted, of Nearchos, Kriton and Euphronios. See STUDNICZKA in the *Jahrbuch*, 1889, p. 135 ff. In relation to Athena as patron goddess of potters, see PRELLER, *Griechische Mythologie*, 4th ed., I, p. 222.

<sup>46</sup> *Griech. Vasen mit Meistersig.*, p. 188.

small for us to argue in this way. And is it credible that an artist as original as Andokides should have been so influenced by his master (whoever he may have been) as to prefer to make vases of the same size as the master had made them?

As a matter of fact, it is a hopeless task to try to solve the question of the absolute relation of Andokides to his predecessors. In the work of Andokides (and much more so in that of the earlier artists) the full expression of the personality of the man was so hampered by ignorance of drawing and by conventionalities of one sort and another that to attempt to build, on the very weak foundation of our present knowledge, a genealogical tree of the art-family to which this artist belonged, would be a futile task. When one remembers the extreme conventionality of the drawing of all the artists at this time, and that the likenesses in the work of any body of artists who have only half mastered their art, who are in the stage where they cannot express what they will, but only what they have learned how, are always much more marked than in the work of men who have completely mastered it, one will be chary of such theories as Klein's. Klein may be right; but then, again, he may not be. There can be little doubt that Andokides knew the work of Exekias, but there is absolutely no proof that the earlier potter was the master of the later one. There are, of course, similarities in the work of the two men, but they are similarities of convention rather than true similarities of style. Besides, there is another artist to whose work the vases by Andokides bear quite as much resemblance. This artist is Amasis.

As I have said, one of the chief characteristics of Andokides is his liking for great variety of detail. Now, this same variety occurs on the vases by Amasis more than on those by Exekias. I have mentioned the earrings worn by the Amazons and swimming maidens on the Louvre vase as occurring on a vase by Amasis.<sup>47</sup> Then the helmets on the Amasis vases are of as many different forms as on the Andokides vases. Helmets with double or single

<sup>47</sup> *Wien. Vorlegehl.*, 1889, Taf. III, 2.

crests, helmets with animals for crests,<sup>48</sup> helmets of the Korinthian and Attic type, Attic helmets with high or low crests occur on the vases of both. The contrast between this variety and the dull repetition of the same shaped helmets on vases by Exekias,<sup>49</sup> is very noticeable. Or compare the great variety of shield symbols chosen by Amasis<sup>50</sup> and the dull blankness of shields by Exekias.<sup>51</sup> Then the great variety of dress patterns on the Andokides vases is much more nearly equalled by the Amasis than by the Exekias figures. Another little point to notice is the very neat way in which Amasis draws the overlapping folds at the bottom (generally) of short chitons. They are folded so as to make a zig-zag line with sharp points, something like the teeth of a saw.<sup>52</sup> This also occurs on the Andokides vases.<sup>53</sup> These are all little details and may or may not mean anything. They allow us to conclude, however, that, leaving the insoluble question of master and pupil aside, the vases by Andokides bear more resemblance to those by Amasis than to those of any other of the earlier vase painters.

The second question, that as to the origin of the red-figured technique, is one that is not so easy to solve. I cannot see, however, that there is any ground for certain of the theories that have been propounded. In the first place, there is no reason for any theory in regard to the matter. The use of the red-figured technique had no development, in the proper sense of the word, and,

<sup>48</sup> On an amphora in the British Museum (B, 209). LOESCHKE (*Arch. Ztg.*, 1881, p. 31, note 9) tried to prove this vase to be by Exekias. His first argument relative to the inscriptions is scarcely credible. It is (in part) that the word Amasis is the name of one of the servants, but that: "Einen zweiten für einen Aethiopen passenden Namen kannte der ungenannte Verfertiger der Vase nicht und schrieb deshalb sinnlose Zeichen"! Exekias's knowledge can hardly have been so limited. His second argument, that the technique looks more like that of Exekias than that of Amasis, has force.

Mr. Cecil Smith follows this view (*Cf. Wiener Vorlegebl.*, 1889; Verzeichniss d. Tafeln. Taf. III, 3), but adds evidence in regard to the style. I do not quite see the force of his argument about the use of H in the inscription, for if it does not occur elsewhere on Amasis vases, no more does it on those by Exekias.

NOTE.—Since the above was written, Mr. Cecil Smith wrote relative to my remark: "That is so; but since Exekias is certainly a later artist than Amasis, he is less unlikely to have used H than Amasis; of course it is not saying much."

<sup>49</sup> *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1888. Taf. VI, VII.

<sup>50</sup> *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1889, III, 2 c.

<sup>51</sup> *Id.*, 1888, VII, 1 c, 1 d.

<sup>52</sup> *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1889, Taf. IV, 4 b.

<sup>53</sup> "Warrior" vase in Louvre; Berlin and Palermo vases.

owing to the nature of things, could have had none. There is no intermediate stage possible between making vases with black figures on a red background and vases with red figures on a black background.<sup>54</sup> The idea must have come to some vase-painter all at once. To theorise as to who this vase-painter was or about the original cause of his ideas is quite useless. The only point on which to theorise is: when were red-figured vases first made? and this question the excavations on the Akropolis have answered with an accuracy that cannot be more than a decade or two wrong.

Klein<sup>55</sup> propounds the theory that the red-figured technique was developed from the gorgoneion on the inside of kylixes. As I have said above, there is no development in the red-figured technique. Moreover, this is a theory based upon a mere supposition and not on any fact. Such theories delay rather than advance knowledge. Not only this, but even if one looks at the matter from Klein's point of view, the facts go directly against him. If the gorgoneion suggested red-figured technique (be it remembered that the gorgoneion *is in the red-figured technique*, so how it can have *suggested* it is difficult to understand), how does it happen that of all the kylixes which show both techniques together only one<sup>56</sup> has the *inner* picture red-figured with the *outer* black-figured. It might quite as well have been "developed" from the outline heads that occur on the kylixes by Hermogenes, Takonides or the other painters of this class.

The believers in Klein's theory might say that, the exterior being the most important part of the vase, the new invention was tried on that part first. This, on grounds of common sense,

<sup>54</sup> It might be thought that drawing the figures in outline, merely leaving the uncolored clay as background, would be an intermediate stage. This, however, would be a different technique, and as no such work has ever been found, it is useless to discuss the point.

When, after writing the above, I was in London, Mr. Cecil Smith showed me a fragment, found in Naukratis, in the very technique which I have said had never been found. This broken bit shows parts of two figures—a satyr grasping a maenad around the waist. Mr. Cecil Smith knew of no other case but this one. This fragment is, of course, of great value and interest, but is scarcely of weight enough to alter the general truth of my statement.

<sup>55</sup> *Euphronios*, p. 32 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Kylix by Epilykos in the Louvre.

would be unlikely, for the artist would hardly have practised new methods at the risk of ruining his wares. Further, it would have to be proved that the exterior was the most important part of the vase—a difficult task until we know just how much the kylixes were put to real use and how much they were ornamental.

Hartwig<sup>57</sup> has propounded another theory; he says: "Es hat allen Anschein, dass Epiktet geradezu als der Erfinder dieser so iiberaus wichtigen Neuerung gelten darf. Jedenfalls erhielt die Malerie mit rothen Figuren durch ihn und seine Genossen ihre erste Ausbildung." The latter part of this passage is, of course, true, but the statement that Epiktetos was the inventor of the red-figured technique is a pure theory. We know that the technique began in his time, but it is quite impossible to prove that any particular man invented it; and if we could, the fact would have but the slightest interest, for these vase-painters are mere names to us.

If, however, we search for what may be considered the first appearance of the red-figured technique, it is perhaps to be found in the vases with black background, *over* which the design is painted, generally in white or red.<sup>58</sup> Six says<sup>59</sup> that his conviction is: "que les premiers essais de cette catégorie sont antérieurs aux figures rouges et qu'ils ont peut-être été en quelque chose dans cette nouvelle invention." Any one who reads his article and considers for a moment what he points out, that an enormous quantity of black-figured vases have their designs enlivened in part by red or other colors, being overlaid on parts of the design, and who remembers, further, that the whole tendency of Greek art, at the beginning of the fifth century B. C., was towards naturalism, will share this conviction rather than accede to theories such as that of Klein. For this naturalism was only to be got by making the figures light against a dark background, because so long as we see by means of light, those designs are the clearest in which the masses are light and the details dark, rather than *vice versa*. That is to say, an outline drawing is more easily understood than a silhouette. The only difficulty for the Greek vase-painter was

<sup>57</sup> *Die Griechischen Meisterschalen*, p. 12.

<sup>58</sup> Six, *Vases Polychromes sur Fond noir*, *Gaz. Arch.*, 1888, 193 ff. and 281 ff.

<sup>59</sup> p. 194.

to lay the black varnish smoothly around the design. Yet this difficulty made no appreciable delay in the history of red-figured vases. For though some of the vases mentioned by Six are slightly earlier than any red-figured vases, yet this "polychrome" form of vase decoration does not seem to have existed at all by itself. It never, that is to say, formed an intermediate stage between the black-figured and red-figured techniques. Further, these polychrome vases prove what I said above, that there is no development possible from the black-figured to the red-figured technique, for these "polychrome" vases belong truly to the red-figured class. Who the artist was who first realized the fact that more truth to nature was possible with the red than with the black figures, we shall probably never know, but that the idea must have come to him full-fledged is clear. The only question that can have arisen in his mind was, whether it would be better to paint the designs *over* the black or to leave them the ground color and draw the black background up to them. This second method, as being the most thorough and satisfactory, was naturally the one the Greeks followed.

NOTE L.—Since writing the above I have seen photographs of two other amphoras which deserve notice because of their likeness to those I have mentioned above. One of them is in the Bourignon collection in Naples (Figs. 15 and 16). It is exactly the same in general appearance as the other amphoras. Its chief peculiarities are that the same scene (two warriors playing with *pessi*) occurs on both sides, and that one side is in black-figured while the other is in red-figured technique. The similarity between these two scenes and the one representing the same subject on the vase in the British Museum is very striking, and perhaps the only reason (though I do not feel sure that that is a valid one) for not believing the vase to be by Andokides is the lack of signature and the weakness of imagination shown in not changing the subject on the two sides. In all details the vase (so far as one can judge by a not very good photograph) agrees perfectly with the work of Andokides—it shows the same love of ornament and the same accuracy of drawing, while the differences in action and dress of the two black-figured warriors and the two

red-figured ones remind one of Andokides' realistic tendencies. If the vase is not by the master, it is by one of his best pupils.

For my knowledge of the second vase I am much indebted to Mr. Cecil Smith, in whose own words it is best described. I have seen only an extremely minute photograph of it, and can merely say that it is undoubtedly in the style of Andokides; more than this I cannot say. This makes little difference, however, for Mr. Cecil Smith himself would say no more, I believe, than that the vase is intimately connected with Andokides' work. His description is as follows:—

"Private collection in Northumberland. Amphora. Usual Andokides form, with faces of handles decorated with ivy leaf pattern, b. f. Ht. 1 ft. 8 in. *Sale-Catalogue de Bammerville*, Christie & Manson, 1854, May 13, No. 40; probably the same as is described in *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1842, p. 187; see Jahn, *Vasens. zu München*. Einleitg., note 494; and Klein, *Euphron.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 36, note 1. Broken, but apparently complete. *A* is partly repainted over breaks. Both sides in panels. Net pattern on each side; above, chain of palmette and bud; under, same inverted. Below two purple lines continuous all round. Round foot rays. In *B* purple leaves, lines on bow-case, jowl of lionskin, cord of bull, one sybenè, and taenia; the purple on the jowl is scored with incised lines, which are elaborate throughout. Beard in raised dots, black on black, and edge of hair incised.

"*A*. Black-figured. *Herakles with Cretan Bull*. *Herakles* (bearded, short chiton, lionskin with tail looped up in girdle, bow, quiver and sword, all at waist) carrying club over right shoulder; moves to right, driving *bull* by a cord fastened around horns. In his left he holds the cord and also a sacrificial torch; from the biceps of this arm hang two sybene, one colored purple. From the horns of the bull hang elaborate fillets, and its tail is very carefully plaited. It is evidently the typical bull of sacrifice. Its neck is marked vertically with parallel wavy lines, alternately incised and purple. In background, beside bull, a tree.

"*B*. Red-figured. The same identically."

NOTE II.—Since writing the above article, Dr. Hauser has published in the *Jahrbuch d. k. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1895, p. 151 f.,





FIG. 15.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA IN STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—NAPLES.

certain fragments of a kylix in the Munich collection which he attributes to Andokides. I agree entirely with what Dr. Hauser says, and would merely emphasize the fact that the various ways used to represent one object, as, for instance, the hair, and the variety of position and action of the figures represented by the artist of the fragments, are the characteristics which I have endeavored to show constitute the chief points of difference between Andokides and other vase-painters of his time.

Owing to the kindness of Professor Marquand, my attention has been called to an amphora published by Percy Gardner in the *Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum*, p. 10, No. 212, Pl. 2. Although bearing a certain resemblance to Andokides' work, a close study of the vase will show, I believe, that it was



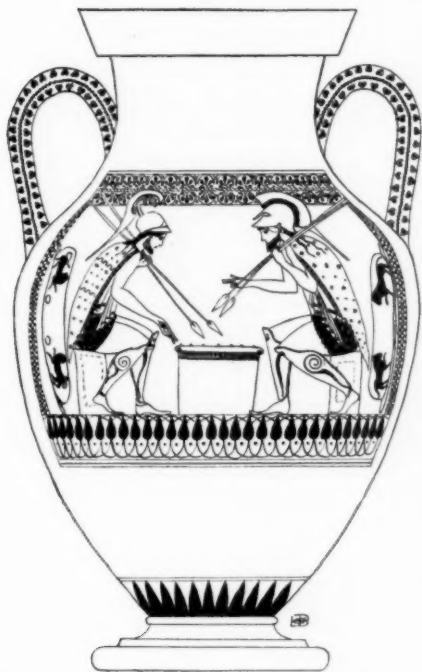


FIG. 16.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA IN STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—NAPLES.

not made by Andokides. The carelessness of part of the drawing (the Doric column), the lack of firm accuracy of line (Herakles' feet, the horses' legs, *etc.*), the want of care and fineness in detail (Athena's dress, the dress of the man in white, the lappets of the tunic of the warrior in white at the horses' heads, *etc.*), and finally the bad drawing of parts (the horses' heads, *etc.*), and the difference in facial type between the figures and those on the signed vases show another master than Andokides. The vase is, however, of great interest, as showing the similarities in the work of contemporary artists induced by a knowledge of technique insufficient to allow the artist to express himself with complete freedom and forcing him to adopt certain conventionalities.

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INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARGIVE HERAEUM.

The inscriptions here given are intended as a continuation of those published in this *JOURNAL*, Vol. IX, p. 351 ff., by Professor J. R. Wheeler. No. XVI is the inscription which he intended to publish under the designation, No. XII. These are all now in the Central Museum at Athens. The fragments of stamped tiles given at the end of the article are supplementary to those already published by me in the same issue of the *JOURNAL*, p. 340 ff.

XII.

This inscription holds the first place in importance among all the inscriptions on stone hitherto found at the Heraeum, both because it is undoubtedly the oldest and because it is so preserved that it may be read entirely. It is cut in a massive block of limestone which formed the upper part of the *stèle*, the shape of which is so peculiar that a cut of it is here given. Its

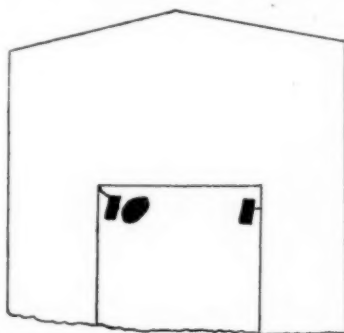


FIG. 1.—STELE FROM THE ARGIVE HERAEUM.

dimensions are: thickness, .28 m.; height, from apex to the

break at the bottom, .44 m.; height at right side, .37 m.; at left, .34 m.; breadth, .39 m. Below the inscription there is a rectangular depression .22 m. wide and .005 m. deep. The letters vary in height from .012 m. to .02 m. There is great irregularity in the spacing of the letters as well as in the direction of the lines, where the irregularity seems almost affected. For example lines 4 and 6 turn and run down the edge of the *stele* at right angles to the direction of the rest of the inscription, apparently not from the desire to avoid breaking a word, for this was surely done at the end of line 2, if not at the end of line 1.

The stone was brought to the Central Museum from Argos in the winter of 1893-94 with several others mentioned by Professor Wheeler as lying at Argos. Whether it was found in the excavations of 1892 or of 1893 I am not able at present to ascertain, but as it was apparently not seen by Professor Wheeler, I infer that it was found at the close of the work in 1893, after he had made up his inventory. I am also uninformed as to the exact spot of its discovery.

ΑΣΤΙΛΑ:ΚΑΙΘΟΓΕΓΑΜΟ  
 ΑΡΑ Α<=ΡΑΣΤΑΣΑΡΑΦ  
 ΑΣ:ΙΑΡΟΜ/ ΑΜΘΝΕΣ:ΤΟΙΔ-  
 ΤΥΡΓΑΛΙΟΝ:ΔΥΜΑΝΕΣ:ΑΦΡΕ  
 ΨΥΜΕΝΕΣ:ΒΥΗΕΝΕΣ  
 ΨΙΣΤΟΔΙΜΟΣ:ΒΥΡΝΑΦ  
 ΑΜΕΙΡ ΞΣΓΑΝΘΥΟ  
 ΑΣ

ἀστάλα : καὶ ὁ τελαμῶ  
 ἰ]αρά [τ]ᾶς [Ἡ]ρας : τᾶς Ἀργε  
 [ί]ας : ἱερομνάμονες : τοῖδε  
 Τρφαλίων : Δύμανς : ἀφρήτεν  
 Ἀλκαμένης : Ἄλλεύς  
 Ἀριστόδαμος : Τρνάθιος  
 Ἀμφίκ[οι]τος : Πανφύλ  
 ας

The surface of the stone is slightly chipped at both edges. Room is found in this battered space for Θ at the beginning of line 1, but at the end there is no room for the N which might be

expected. Neither can this N find a place at the beginning of line 2, where there is only room for I. The rough breathing,  $\Theta$  was apparently not used before *ιαρός* as is seen by the clear case of *ιαρομνάμονες*, line 3.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of line 3, I must have been crowded in, since the diphthong is used in the very oldest inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> In line 4 the first letter may be  $\Pi$ , as all traces of horizontal lines, except of the top one, are doubtful. The fourth letter is almost certainly F, as the surface is smooth where the right-hand limb of a  $\Pi$  would naturally appear.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, if such a limb had the length which it has in *Πανφύλας*, line 7, it would have run into the A immediately below it. *Πυρφαλίων* is a not unattractive conjecture, as a diminutive from *Πυραλῖς*, a kind of bird, which in Hesychius is written *Πυρραλῖς*, where the second rho seems to point to an original *digamma*. Neither *Τρφαλίαν* nor *Πυρραλίων* appears to be known.

In line 7, *Ἀμφί[ριτ]ος* would be a natural suggestion, but there seem to be reasonably clear traces of an *omicron*, as well as of the other two letters which have been included in brackets.

There are many interesting peculiarities of form in the letters of the inscription. The most striking is the second *omicron* of *ιαρομνάμονες*, line 3.<sup>4</sup> It is evident at a glance that even apart from this *omicron*, which is probably an accident, we have an inscription venerable for its antiquity.  $E=\eta$ ,  $o=\omega$ ,  $\iota=\lambda$ , indeed run on in Argos to the end of the 5th century. But we find besides these usages  $\theta=\delta$ ,  $\rho=\rho$ ,  $\nu=\nu$ ,  $\phi=\phi$ ,  $\Theta$ =rough breathing, the *digamma*, and perhaps, more important than all these, the punctuation of the words with three dots in perpendicular

<sup>1</sup> For *ιαρός* as a *ψιλον* in Doric, see AURENS, *Dial. Dor.* § 4. 3.

<sup>2</sup> RÖHL. *IGA.* 33, 42.

<sup>3</sup> The only other possibility, since *gamma* has the form A. line 2.

<sup>4</sup> This would pass without question for a simple error of the stonemason, but for the fact that an inscription connected with the frieze of the treasury of the Cnidians at Delphi, which probably belongs to the 6th century B. C., has three *omicrons*, all crossed in the same way. M. Homolle, who had already pronounced in favor of an Argive artist for this frieze on the ground of the Argive *lambda* in the inscription, was inclined to see in this crossed *omicron* of our inscription a corroboration of his view. But since a careful scrutiny of all the other *omicrons* of our inscription fails to discover any cross marks, the interpretation of this one case as the survival of an Argive peculiarity seems precarious.

lines.<sup>5</sup> It may be added that M and N show very oblique lines in place of the later perpendicular ones. In the former letter the middle lines in several cases fail to meet at the bottom. *Alpha* also, which in the main looks tolerably late, has in one or two cases the cross bar quite far from horizontal. Forms like *Δύμανς*<sup>6</sup>, also, and *Πανφύλας*<sup>7</sup> look old. In view of all these features it would seem rash to put our inscription much, if any, later than 500 B. C.

The dialect is Argive Doric, pure and simple. The names Alkamenes and Aristodamos have also a good Doric ring to them.

The contents of the inscription is a list of four Hieromnemons, one from each tribe, the name of which is appended. *Ἱερομνήμονες* was the usual name for the board having charge of temple affairs, not merely at Delphi, where the usage is perhaps best known, but in many other places as well. For the Heraeum it is seen also in No. XVI and in Wheeler's article, Nos. IV and IX. The inscription is interesting as affording the earliest mention of the names of the four Doric tribes. These are sufficiently well attested in later times for Argos and for various Doric communities connected with Argos.<sup>8</sup> The editors of the inscription in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, vol. ix, p. 350 remark: "Jusqu' ici les inscriptions du Péloponnèse qui donnaient les noms des tribus argiennes dataient toutes de l'époque impériale; il y a quelque intérêt à les retrouver dans un document qui remonte, selon toute vraisemblance au III<sup>me</sup> siècle avant notre

<sup>5</sup> We have become accustomed to find this method of punctuation in some of our very oldest pieces which are best known, e. g. RÖHL, *CIA*. Nos. 5, 37, 41, 42 (these last three from Argos), 68, 119 (Olympia bronze), 321, 322 (Galaxidhi bronzes).

<sup>6</sup> AHRENS, *Dial. Dor.* § 14 puts this retention of the combination *πς* as a peculiarity of Argos and Crete. *Τῆπυς* is a case in which it has survived to the present time (cf. KÜHNER-BLASS, *Grammatik*, I, p. 257).

<sup>7</sup> In the Argive inscription given by FOUCART in LE BAS, *Péloponnèse*, No. 116<sup>b</sup> *ἀ φυλά τῶν Πανφύλων* (Foucart, *Πανφύλων*!!), we have this form instead of the later form in *στ*. Unless all single signs of age in alphabetic forms are illusive our inscription must be at the very least a half a century earlier than the one published by LE BAS, *Voyage Archéologique*, II, 31, No. 1, and put by him in 417 B. C. Of this we shall speak later.

<sup>8</sup> GILBERT, *Griech. Staatsalter.*, II, p. 77, and the references there given. Also *BCH*. IX, p. 350; V, p. 217 (Kos); VIII, p. 29 (Kalymnos).

ère." But our inscription is at least two centuries older than the one in question.

The Hyrnethians are not so frequently mentioned as the other three tribes, and are regarded as a later addition to these original three tribes,<sup>9</sup> the name indicating perhaps an incorporation of a non-Doric element<sup>10</sup> into the community, a fact which was concealed under the myth of Hyraetho, the daughter of Temenos, marrying Deiphontes. But the addition of the Hyrnethians cannot have been very late, for our inscription shows them in such good and regular standing that they are not even relegated to the last place in the catalogue, as is the case in the inscription just mentioned.

To the name of the Hieromnemon who is mentioned first is appended the word *ἀρήτενε*. By good fortune this very word without the *digamma* is preserved in Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, No. 1, of the inscriptions from Asia Minor (*SGD.*) 3277<sup>11</sup>. The passage runs as follows: *ἀρήτενε Λέων βωλᾶς σευτέρας*. Le Bas translates: "était prêtre du second sénat," and adds the following comment: '*Ἀρήτενε*, qui, bien qu'il manque dans tous les lexiques, se deduit très-bien du même radical qu' *ἀρητήρ* et *ἀρήτειρα*, regardés tous deux jusqu' ici comme exclusivement usités dans le dialecte ionien.'"<sup>12</sup>

In an inscription of the Hellenistic period from Mycenae, published by Tsountas in the *Ἑφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1887, p. 156, lines 4 and 5, are given *ἀρίστενε δαμιοργῶν Δελφίων*. The face of the stone is very much defaced so that certainty is hardly attainable, but Tsountas is now convinced that the real reading is not

<sup>9</sup> STEPH. BYZ. s. v. *Δυμῶν*: — φυλὴ Δωριέων. ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς Ἰλλεῖς καὶ Πάμφυλοι καὶ Δυμῶνες ἐξ Ἡρακλείους, καὶ προσετέθη ἡ Ἰωνική ὡς Ἐφοροὶ α'. It is worth noting that in the inscription given in KABBADIAS, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, No. 234, of the latter part of the 3d century, in a list of 151 Megarian names, only Hylleis, Pamphyloi and Dymanes appear. Perhaps the Hyrnethioi had not been added in Megara. The old triple division appears in HEROD. v. 68. Some would find it also in *Δωριεὺς τρεχάικες*, HOM. *Od.* XIX, 177.

<sup>10</sup> ROSCHER, *Lex. Myth.*, p. 982.

<sup>11</sup> This inscription from Smyrna, which records a favorable verdict of the Argives for the Kimolians in an arbitration between them and the Melians, must have been transported from Kimolos by some ship carrying Kimolian earth to Smyrna. See LE BAS, *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Voyage Arch.*, II, 3<sup>a</sup>, p. 6.

ἀρίστευε but ἀρήτευε. The *eta* is to be sure in this case very broad. Dr. A. Wilhelm, who decides that this alone can be the reading, reinforces it by the consideration that in the prescript of another edict published with this one, we have ἀρητ, which can only be restored as ἀρήτευε.

In all these cases one might be tempted to connect the word with the stem *φρε*,<sup>13</sup> and make it designate the "speaker," or in other words the chairman of a board. We may then think of Hyralion as the president of the board of Hieromnemons.

The word τελαμών or τελαμών, line 1, is difficult of explanation. We have come to associate the word with Caryatids and Atlantes, but it is almost certain that this association will not hold here. We shall probably come to the proper explanation by taking as our starting point an inscription from Varna (*CIG.* II, 2056), at the end of which the following provision is made: τὸν δὲ ἱεροποῖον ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο εἰς τελαμόνα, καὶ θεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. With this may be associated another from Mesambria (*CIG.* 2053<sup>b</sup>), which closes with a like provision: τὸν δὲ ταμίαν ἀναγράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο εἰς τελαμόνα λευκοῦ λίθου ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. One can hardly hesitate to say that τελαμών here appears to be the equivalent in Thrace for στήλη in Attica, where the latter word occurs constantly in the phrase prescribing the setting up of inscriptions, a phrase which except for this difference is exactly the same as in the two inscriptions cited. But our inscription mentions στήλη and τελαμών as two separate things, so that we have not yet arrived at a complete explanation. The case seems at first sight to be complicated somewhat by a third inscription from the same region as the first, and now preserved in the Museum at Odessa (*CIG.* 2056<sup>a</sup>), where the phrase is: [ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην λευκοῦ λίθου [καὶ] ἀνα[θεῖναι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τελα]μώνος. The inscription then proceeds to speak of [τὸ ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν] ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ τελαμώνος.<sup>14</sup> It is this inscription which leads us to the light. Τελαμών is restored to its function as a support in a way which fits our inscription very well. In regions where marble was scarce one may well suppose that an inscribed marble *stèle* might be inserted into a larger

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *φράτρα*, ROEHL, *IGA.* Nos. 110, 112.

<sup>14</sup> There seems to be no reasonable doubt that the readings given are the correct ones, although much depends on restoration.

local stone, which might then not inaptly be called a *τελαμών*. It must be conceded that *CIG.* 2053<sup>b</sup>, where the *τελαμών* itself is of marble, affords difficulty. But it may be that even with the *origin* of the word *τελαμών* as here proposed, the two words come to be used in some quarters interchangeably.

It will be seen by the cut, p. 42, that something was inserted into our massive block. There are dowel-holes on the right and left at the top of the rectangular depression to which probably two others at the bottom, now broken off, corresponded. The one at the left measures .07 m.  $\times$  .02 m., the one at the right .06 m.  $\times$  .02 m.; both about .03 m. deep. These probably served to receive metallic dowels, inasmuch as they are provided with little channels for pouring in the lead when the inserted object was *in situ*, the channel on the left running obliquely to the upper corner of the depression, and that at the right running horizontally to the edge of the depression. Besides the dowel-holes there is an equally deep irregularly round hole about .12 m.  $\times$  .07 m., which may also have served to hold some strengthening dowel. That the insertion was original, and not connected with some subsequent use of the block, is proved by the fact that the lines of the inscription are shaped with regard to it, coming in around it to the right and to the left. The object inserted cannot have been a statue, nor a *stèle* to which this block served as a horizontal base, for in that case this inscription would have been hidden from view, except to one standing so as to read it sideways or bottom upwards. Probably we have the *τελαμών* into which was inserted a *stèle* either of marble or bronze with an inscription of greater length and importance than the one which we have here. This served merely as a bill-head to the real contents of the inscription. It should be noted that at Argos marble was not at hand, and that most of the inscriptions found there, including all here given except No. XVII, were cut in the local limestone which was a most unsatisfactory material. The veins of the stone and the cracks which come with age reduce one who will now read them to absolute despair.<sup>15</sup> In this case even at a very early date a good piece of marble may have been imported for an important inscription.

<sup>15</sup> No. XVI is a good example of this difficulty of reading, although the surface is not badly broken.



## XIII.

Found in the West Building, close to the wall at the s. w. corner, April 2, 1894. The stone is irregularly broken with an inscribed surface about .31 m.  $\times$  .12 m., and is about .12 m. thick. The letters are .005 m.—.007 m. high, very regular, and remarkably well preserved. They have no ornamentation except that the strokes are generally broadened a little at the end. The inscription may belong to the third century, but probably to the fourth, and is a fine example of careful cutting.<sup>16</sup>

- 1 ΩΦΕΛΙΩ  
 ΞΩΚΡΑΤ  
 ΞΩΚΡΑΤ  
 ΤΕΛΛΕΑΛ  
 5 ΑΝΘΙΔΑΔC  
 ΞΩΤΗΡΙΔΑΙ  
 ΞΥΝΕΤΑΝΓΟΙ  
 ΩΙΒΙΟΝΞΩΚΡΑ  
 ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΙΑΝΔΑΜ  
 10 ΜΙΚΥΛΙΩΝΑΞΩΓΑΙ  
 ΜΟΞΧΙΩΝΑΡΧΕΚΡ  
 ΠΙΞΤΑΝΦΙΛΩΤΙΞΓC  
 ΞΩΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΝΦΙΛΩΤΙ  
 ΓΑΘΩΝΑΝΛΥΑΡΧΟΞ  
 15 .. ΜΟΞΘCΝΕΙΑΝΝΙΚΟΙ  
 ... ΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΝΕΠΙΚΡΑ  
 .... ΟΝΘΕΡΞΙΩΝΔΑΙΦC  
 ... ΝΑΝΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΓΑ/  
 .... ΑΝΕΠΙΚΑΗΞΔΙΦΩΝΥΞ  
 20 ..... ΔΑΜΟΞΘΕΝΗΞΔΙΦΩΝ  
 ΞΥΡΑΓΑΙΟΝΙΞ  
 ..... ΝΑΡΙΞΤΟΓCΙΞΚΕ  
 ..... ΚΕΤΟΞΚΛΕΙΟΑΙΞ  
 ..... ΞΑΝΑ  
 25 ..... ΙΑ\

<sup>16</sup> Yet the first *alpha* in *Ναύαρχος*, line 14, has no cross-bar which makes the words look like 'Αγαθώναν Λάαρχος, an impossible combination. The first *epsilon* in *Δαμοσθέειαν* in the next line also lacks the middle stroke.

- 1 Ὀφελίω[να  
 Σωκράτ[ειαν  
 Σωκράτ[ειαν  
 Τελλέα Λ
- 5 Ἀνθίδα Δο  
 Σωτηρίδα Ι  
 Συνέταν Γοι  
 Σώβιον Σωκρά[τεια  
 Ἀφροδιτίαν Δαμ[οκράτεια
- 10 Μικυλίωνα Σωπα[τρίς  
 Μοσχίωνα Ἀρχεκ[ράτεια  
 Πίσταν Φιλῶτις Πο  
 Σωκράτειαν Φιλῶτι[ς  
 [Ἀ]γαθῶνα Ναύαρχος
- 15 Δα]μοσθέειαν Νικομ[άχη  
 Ἀρι]οτοκράτειαν Ἐπικρά[τεια  
 . . . . .ον Θερσίων Δαΐφ[ότης  
 . . . . .ναν Φιλοκράτεια Παλ  
 . . . . .αν Ἐπικλῆς Διφωνυσ[ίαν
- 20 . . . . . Δαμοσθένης Διφων[υσίαν  
 . . . . . Σύρα Παιονίς  
 . . . . . ν Ἀριστόπολις Κε  
 . . . . . κετος Κλε[όπ]ολις  
 . . . . . σαν Ἀ
- 25 . . . . . ιλυ

We have here simply a list of names, some in the nominative and some in the accusative. On the left where the original edge of the stone is preserved we seem to have an accusative at the beginning of each line. The first case in which we get two consecutive names, line 12, the second name is in the nominative. In line 14 it is the same, and so on apparently to the end. We do not find an opportunity to test whether the third name is an accusative, thus making a regular alternation until we reach line 21. This line, however, is peculiar in having a little blank space each side of the preserved letters. It is possible that before Σύρα an accusative stood, separated by an interval slightly larger than usual. Παιονίς (which has a space after it for more than two let-

ters) is doubtless an epithet of Σύρα, and so does not break the alternation. Line 23 is the only one which seems to do this, since -κετος is probably the ending of a name in the nominative; and Κλεόπολις which follows seems to be a second name in the nominative. It is also difficult to get a name short enough to precede ]κετος, supposing this were the ending of an accusative, when only seven letters in all are lacking.

The inscription may be a record of emancipation of slaves, with the slaves' names in the accusative and the owners' names in the nominative. In such documents, at Delphi and elsewhere, women's names generally outnumber men's names by more than two to one.<sup>17</sup> In this list the proportion of women's names is even larger.

While some of the names are unusual, none of them are strange enough to be remarkable. Ὀφελίων is interesting as occurring again in different shape in No. XIV. It is perhaps a favorite in Argolis, as it appears in *SGD.* 3269, 3341, 3401.

The persistence of the *digamma* in Διφώνυσ, which occurs twice, and the Doric ending *a* for the first declension names, show some retention of old style, and caution us against assigning too late a date to the inscription.

#### XIV.

Found towards the close of the excavations of 1894, with no exact record as to the spot. Of irregular shape, about .40 m. long and .19 m. broad, .08 m. thick. Letters of the same size as those of No. XIII, .005 m.—.007 m. and almost of the same form.<sup>18</sup> The surface is so badly worn away that but little can be made of the inscription, and that little only on the left side.

Only a few proper names result from the most careful scrutiny, hardly enough to make it profitable to add a transcription in small letters. Since the differences between the letters of this inscription and those of No. XIII were at first hardly discernible, and since this stone had no original edge preserved, it seemed as if it might belong to the same inscription. The

<sup>17</sup> SMITH, *Dict. of Antig.*, II, 61<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> M is somewhat broader with the upright bars more perpendicular. O is somewhat smaller.

- 1           ΝΑΣ ΜΙΑΙΛΗ  
          •   ΟΝΟΣ ΛΥ...ΟΣ  
              Α ΑΡΧΕΜΑΧ  
          Α ΦΙΛΕΙΑ Δ                   ΦΙΛ  
5           ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΑΥΓΛΙΑ—  
          Α ΛΑΚΩ ΛΥ Α                   ΤΟΛ  
              Α ΑΙΡΙ  
              ΑΤΗ  
              Ξ  
10           ΡΑΤ                           ΕΥΞ  
          ΑΦΑΝΞ Ε  
              ΞΩΣΤΡΑ—  
          'ΑΡΙΤΑ . ΑΡΙ  
          ΛΥΞΙΞ  
15           ΑΓΑΘΩ  
          ΚΛΗΓΟΡΑ Γ  
          ΧΙΓΓΑΓ  
              ΚΛΕΙΔΑΟΚΛ  
              ΠΠΟΣ ΚΛΕΟ  
20           ΟΝΟΦΕΙΛΛ  
          ΨΗΞ ΚΛΕΟ...ΛΙΔΑ  
          ΑΙ ΓΗΙΜ...ΑΜΥ  
          Ν ΑΡΑΧΝΑΣ
- 1           νας Μι  
          ωνος Λύ[αρχ]ος  
          α 'Αρχεμάχ[α  
          α Φιλεία Δ                   Φιλ  
5           'Αριστόπολις Ναυπλία  
          α Λακώ Λυ...α...τολ  
          α Λίρι  
              ατη  
              σ  
10           ρατ                           εως  
          αφαης 'Ε  
              Σωστράτ[α  
          Χάριτα 'Αρι[στόπολις  
          Λυσισ[τράτα

- 15           'Αγάθω[ν  
               Κληγός[ρ]α Π  
               'Αρ]χίππα  
                   κλείδα 'Οκλ  
               "Αρχι]ππος Κλεό[πολις  
 20           ον 'Οφέλλ[ίων  
               νης Κλεο[πο]λίδα  
               αιπειμ . . . 'Αμν[κλαῖος  
               ν 'Αράχνας

thickness of the stone would not be an insuperable objection, as both fragments are extremely uneven at the back. Furthermore while most of the names which can be made out with certainty are in the nominative, we have *Χάρिता* in line 13 and an accusative ending apparently at the beginning of line 20. Even the two consecutive nominatives in line 5, which may be regarded as certain, although this is one of the most worn places of the stone, are paralleled in No. XIII as we have seen. Some of the names are also the same, as *'Αριστόπολις* (5), *'Αγάθων* (15), perhaps *Κλεόπολις* (19, 21), and in different form *'Οφέλλων* (20).

But even the slight differences in the letters mentioned above taken together with the different thickness of the stones make it safer to treat the two pieces as belonging to different inscriptions.

We seem to have genitives also in this inscription as —ωνος (2) *'Αράχνας* (23) *]κλείδα* (18). Of these, however, only the last seems reasonably certain, as the first may be —ονος, a nominative ending, and in 23 we may have *'Αράχνα* followed by a name beginning with Σ.

Line 22 which shows several letters at the beginning hard to combine into any proper name may contain something else than names, but this is doubtful. After this line there is space for another, which was left blank.

#### XV.

A small irregular piece .07 m. from top to bottom, .18 m. wide, of about the same thickness as No. XIV. The letters also are identical, so that in spite of different weathering<sup>19</sup> it is not

<sup>19</sup> This piece is so reddened that it seems at some time to have been exposed to fire.

unlikely that it formed a part of the same inscription. It was found at the close of the work in 1894. A small piece of the surface at the right, about .04 m. square, is now detached. But the two fragments fit so perfectly that there is no doubt that they belong together.

ΚΕΙ

\ ΚΙΟΝΑΡΙ . . . . . : ΜΑΧ  
ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΑΝΦΙ . . . . . 'Ο  
ΠΙΣΤΑΝΑΝΘΙΓ  
ΡΥΞΙΓΓΟΝΞΟ  
Ν

ΚΕΙ

Φυλ]άκιον 'Αρι[στώ 'Αρχ]εμάχ[ου  
Φιλωνίδαν Φι[λωτίς] Χο  
Πίσταν 'Ανθίπ[που  
Χ]ρύσιππον Σω

'Αρχεμάχου in line 2 is suggested by the same name in XIV. 3, although the space is rather scanty for so many letters. The two compounds in ἱππος are matched by the two in XIV. 17, 19. Πίσταν occurs in XIII. 12.

## XVI.

Brought with others from Argos to the Central Museum at Athens in the winter of 1893-94, with no notice concerning the exact spot of finding. This was to have been Wheeler's No. XII. The stone is very streaked limestone, .11 m. thick, irregularly broken. The greatest length of inscribed surface from top to bottom, .30 m.; greatest breadth, .23 m. It is not finished off evenly at the top, where the heading shows that we have the original edge. The letters are .01 m. high. A remarkable feature is that in the top line where the stone is chipped off the letters are cut down into the breaks along the edge.

1 ΜΝΑΜΟΝΕΞΗΡΑΞΟΙΕΙ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΟΥ  
ΤΕΟΞΤΗΜΕΝΙΔΑΣ  
ΓΥΕΥΞΑΝΤΑΣΕΙΞΑΥΤΟΥΞ

5 ΑΡΚΕΙΔΑ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΙΑΕ ΜΑ  
ΛΑΡΑΒΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΣ ΙΑΕ ΦΑΗΝ  
ΣΙΑΣ ΙΑΕ ΦΑΗΝΑΣ ΔΑΜΟΙΤΑ  
Ε ΑΙΣΧΡΩΝΟΣ ΠΩΛΑΘΕΕΣ  
ΑΡΧΙΔΟΣ ΑΕ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΑ  
10 ΤΟΣ ΝΑΥΠΛΙΑ ΑΑ ΑΡΜΟΝ  
ΝΑΣ ΥΑΔΑΙ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΩ ΙΑΤ Κ  
ΝΙΚΗ ΙΑΤ ΚΛΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ  
ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΑΣ ΣΜΙΡΕΙΔΑ  
ΙΑΕ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΑΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΑ  
15 ΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΣ ΕΝΑΡΓΕΙ Ν  
ΞΕΝΑΣ ΚΕΡΚΑΔΑΙ ΘΙΟ  
ΙΟΚΛΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΩ ΙΑΕ ΣΣ  
ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝ ΙΑΕ ΘΙΟΦΑΝ  
·ΡΙΤΥΛΛΑΣ ΛΥΚΟΦΡ  
20 ·ΡΑΤΕΟΣ ΝΑΥΠΛΙ·  
· · · ΔΙΩΝΥΣΙΟΥ Κ  
· · · ΕΙΑΣ ΔΙΟΔΩΡ

- 1 'Ιερο]μνάμονες Ἦρας οἱ ἐπ  
'Αριστοκράτης Τιμαγόρου  
τεος Τημενίδας [ἐγ  
γενεύσαντας εἰς αὐτοὺς
- 5 'Αρκείδα Ἑρμογένης ΙΑΕ Μα  
Λαράβου Ἀνδρικός ΙΑΕ Φαῖν[ας  
σίας ΙΑΕ Φαῖνας Δαμοιτά[δης  
ε Αἰσχρωνος Πωλάθες
- 10 'Αρχίδος ΑΕ Ἀντιπάτρα  
τος Ναυπλία ΑΑ Ἀρμον[ία  
νας Ἱάδαι Φιλιστώ ΙΑΕ Κ  
νικη ΙΑΕ Κλευκράτεος  
Φιλονίκας Σμυρίδα  
ΙΑΕ Θεοδοσίας Ῥωμαία[s
- 15 Ἀγάθωνος ἐν Ἀργεῖ Ν  
ξένας Κερκάδαι Θιο [Δα  
μόκλα Ἀριστῶ ΙΑΕ Σω  
Φιλιστίων ΙΑΕ Θιοφαν  
Κ]ριτύλλας Λυκόφρ[ων [Κλευ
- 20 κ]ράτεος Ναυπλία  
· · · Διωνυσίου κ  
· · · εἰας Διόδωρ[ος

This inscription appears to have reference to certain persons who had become security to the Hieromnemons for certain other persons who were liable for sums of money. Line 4 gives the clue,<sup>20</sup> the rest is merely a list of names, those of the persons liable in the genitive, those of the guarantors in the nominative. The names of the latter are followed by numeral signs. In line 10 the sign is AA, in all other cases it is  $\overline{\text{AE}}$ .<sup>21</sup> It is not improbable that the former denotes two units of some kind, but what the value of the latter may be I have not been able to ascertain. Several peculiarities in methods of noting sums of money appear in inscriptions from the Argolid,<sup>22</sup> but none of them throw light upon the value of this sign.

The regular order of genitive, nominative, numeral, seems interrupted in 9, where  $\text{Ἀρχίδος}$  can hardly be anything but a genitive. If we suppose it to be a parent's name added in this one case, it is singular that a person should be designated by the mother's name. Another break in this sequence is made by the enigmatical words  $\text{Ῥάδαι}$  (11) and  $\text{Κερκάδαι}$  (16) whether these be nominatives plural or datives singular. The equally puzzling word  $\text{Πωλάθεις}$  (line 8)<sup>23</sup>, makes probably a similar insertion, and so would afford a reason for regarding the others also as nominatives. It is not unlikely that  $\text{Σμυρίδα[ι]}$ , line 13, is a similar case. It is striking that these four words which interrupt the order of cases are the only ones which are enigmatical, although  $\text{Ἀράβος}$ , line 6, looks outlandish and  $\text{Ἀρκείδας}$ , line 5, and some of the other names are unusual. It is in vain that we seek the key to these unexplained words in such sources as the edicts of Diocletian. That the inscription is from Roman times is evident from the occurrence of the epithet  $\text{Ῥωμαίος}$ , a conclusion to which the forms of the letters alone would hardly have led us, although they certainly

<sup>20</sup>  $\text{ἐγγυεῖω}$ , though not given in the lexicons, is contained in WESCHER et FOUCART, *Inscr. de Delphes*, 139.

<sup>21</sup> Although in some cases (lines 9, 11, 12, 17) some strokes of the sign are lacking, it was probably intended as the same sign in all cases.

<sup>22</sup> *SGD.* Nos. 3286 (Argos), 3318 (Nemea), 3325 (Epidauros), 3362 (Troezen), 3384, 3385 (Hermione). See also DITTENBERGER in *Hermes*, vol. VII, pp. 62 ff.

<sup>23</sup> The reading may be  $\text{ποδάθεις}$ , as the second letter looks like an omicron changed to an omega or vice versa, and the next letter is a possible delta. This reading, though dubious, might give a meaning like "swift-foot."



appear to be as late as 200 B. C. A probable conjecture for the words in question is that they are names of certain *gentes* at Argos in Roman times.

XVII.

Two marble fragments, rough at the back, .09 m. thick, both irregularly broken, (a) about .22 m.  $\times$  .22 m.; (b) about .15 m.  $\times$  .25 m. (height): letters in both .06 m.—.07 m. in height, and with large apices.

(a).  $\Psi$   $\Lambda$   $\Gamma$   $\varsigma$

(b).  $\Psi$   $\Sigma$   $E$

T O P O

Whether (a) is properly first in order of succession it is impossible to say, as a reconstruction is not to be made out of such scanty fragments. All we can say is that (a) certainly yields in the second line  $\Delta\upsilon\tauοκρά\tauορο[s]$  and in the first line perhaps  $\Delta\nu[τῶνινον]$ . (b) yields  $\Sigma\epsilon[\betaαστόν]$ . It is in itself highly probable that the Heraeum had a period of bloom under Hadrian and the Antonines.

XVIII.

On a fragment of a round base of limestone which must have had a diameter of about 5 feet, with very elaborate moulding. The inscription is on a band .11 m. broad. Above this is a projecting lip now badly shattered, once .03 m. thick and projecting at least .02 m.; below is a concave moulding .01 m. broad, then a convex one, .02 m. broad; then a band .05 m. broad, with a double *mæander* pattern. The shape of the piece is like that of a piece of pie, the inscribed surface, *i. e.*, the arc, measuring .24 m.

$\mathcal{M}$  O Height of letters,  $\mathcal{M}$  .025 m., O .02 m.

We have the beginning of the inscription since there is a space of .14 m. before the  $\mathcal{M}$ , whereas the letters  $\mathcal{M}$  and O are only .05 m. apart. It is useless to attempt a restoration. The inscription was probably brief, since other pieces lying at the Heraeum have no letters.

XIX.

On a poros block in a wall between the new temple and the West Building. The block has a face 1.22 m.  $\times$  .32 m. It was uncovered in the Spring of 1895.

$\kappa$   $\vdash$   $E$  O  $\mathcal{M}$   $\Lambda$  + O  $\geq$  Κλεόμαχος.

The letters are in general .10 m. high, but omicron is excessively small. It is possible that this inscription is older than No. XII. The three-stroke *sigma* alone would carry it back into the neighborhood of 500 B. C.<sup>24</sup> *Kappa* is the most striking letter in form. At first sight one hardly notices that the upright bar projects above and below its junction with the oblique bars, which do not meet each other. Only on closer notice the upright bar is seen to project slightly. The wide gap between the oblique bars might seem to be a Theraean feature, as the inscription from Thera given in Röhl, *IGA*. No. 454 (Roberts, *Introd. to Greek Epig.* No. 4<sup>b</sup>) has a form in this respect almost exactly parallel. But almost the same peculiarity occurs in the Nikandra inscription (Röhl, *IGA*. 407) and in that on the Apollo-base at Delos (Röhl, *IGA*. 409). In fact we have almost a parallel at Argos itself in Röhl, *IGA*. 31.

## XX.

On a limestone tripod-base, found near the north wall of the West Building, with a diameter of .50 m. and a height of .41 m. The top surface shows four dowel-holes, a large square one in the centre, and three smaller rectangular ones for the legs, at distances of .23 m. apart.

Ο Ε Η Η Ι Ι Ο Ξ. Δεξιλλος.

Height of letters .03 m.—.035 m. The rounded *delta* throws this inscription also back towards the beginning of the fifth century. But its chief interest lies in the doubling of the *xi*. This is paralleled by the Boeotian Δεξιππος, Röhl, *IGA*. 150, and Δεξιππα, *CIG*. 1608, line 6.<sup>25</sup> The turning of *xi* on its side seems to be an Argive peculiarity.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> It would fall in Roberts' (*Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 117) Second period of Argive inscriptions.

<sup>25</sup> For other cases of gemination see G. MEYER, *Gr. Gram.* § 227.

<sup>26</sup> ROBERTS, *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, No. 77.

# ADDITIONAL TO THE STAMPED TILES FROM THE HERAEUM.

(From the *Excavations of 1894 and 1895.*)

## I.

Four additional fragments of the Sokles tiles.<sup>1</sup>

(a)  $\Sigma \Omega K \wedge H \Sigma$  .

(b)  $\Sigma \Omega K /$  .

(c)  $\Sigma \Omega K . . \Sigma A$  .

(d)  $\backslash P X I T E K T \Omega N$  .

As these were found in various spots, (a) at the north side of the West Building, (c) and (d) on and near the steps of the East chamber, we still have no clue as to the building on which these large tiles were used.

## II.

A small, thin, flat piece, .08 m.  $\times$  .05 m., nothing like the Sokles tiles, yet bearing the letters

$O I O I H$  .

These seem to indicate the same stamp that was applied at the bottom of the Sokles tile which is found entire in the Polytechnikon at Athens, *i. e.*,  $\Delta A M O I O I H P A \Sigma$ .<sup>2</sup> The dimensions of the letters coincide exactly, their height being .015 m., except in the case of the *omicrons*, which are only half as high.

On a piece of tile painted black, with considerable curvature, are the letters  $M O I O I$  . As the stamp is entire at the right end, it did not in this case have  $H P A \Sigma$  . Otherwise the letters are the same.

<sup>1</sup> AM. JOUR. ARCH. IX, p. 341 ff. I saw in the Museum at Argos another fragment of the same series, up to that time (April 30, 1895) overlooked. It bore the mark of the American excavators "West Stoa." This yields  $T \Omega N$  . In the same museum at the same time I noticed also a tile fragment with the monogram  $\Sigma$  for  $\Sigma \Lambda$ , which has an exact counterpart in a fragment now in the Museum at Athens.

<sup>2</sup> AM. JOUR. ARCH. IX, p. 342.

## III.

A fragment found at the close of the season of 1895, .16 m. × .11 m. The field of the stamp is .10 m. × .05 m. The letters are .02 m. high.

Ε Π Ι Κ Ο Ρ  
Μ Α Κ Ι Α

As the letters agree in size with the Ε Π Μ Α mentioned in this JOURNAL, Vol. IX, p. 350, this must be a duplicate of that. We thus have the complete stamp, and are left with a puzzle. We should expect ἐπί to be a preposition, and look for a following genitive.<sup>3</sup> But Κορμακία can hardly be a name either Greek or Roman.

## IV.

Two fragments of somewhat different dimensions, one .18 m. × .18 m. and another .16 m. × .19 m., one with a raised border .05 m. above the stamp, and the other without it, but both yielding exactly the same letters.

VO ΠΙΞΔ = . . — δείρου.

The letters are .01 m.—.012 m. high. This is a case of a stamp reversed in which the character ϐ=ρ was not reversed like the other letters.<sup>4</sup>

It is singular that the break should occur in both pieces at exactly the same place, leaving us in doubt whether we have the genitive of Δείρας or of some longer name.

## V.

Fragment of absolutely flat tile, .02 m. thick, .26 m. × .25 m., with letters .02 m. high.

Κ Α Ο Ι Ξ Ξ Θ Ε Ν Η Ξ . Κλοισθένης.

The square *sigmas* cannot belong to a date much before the beginning of the Christian era, and the contamination of *οι* and *ει* would seem to indicate a date much later still. Such a phenomenon in Attica would hardly date before the third century A. D.<sup>5</sup> For a duplicate of this stamp, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* ix, p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> AM. JOUR. ARCH. Vol. IX, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> AM. JOUR. ARCH. IX, p. 349.

<sup>5</sup> MEISTERHANS, *Gram. Att. Insch.* p. 46, § 16, 10.

## VI.

But the pearl of the tile-inscriptions from the Heraeum is on the fragment of the upper face of the edge of a huge bowl, which must have had a diameter of about three feet. The fragment was found in 1894 "at the West end of the South Slope, behind the retaining wall of the West Building, mixed up with a quantity of early pottery and figurines."

The letters are not stamped, so as to appear raised as in those hitherto mentioned, but are incised, cut into the clay when it was moist. The inscribed face of the fragment is .22 m.  $\times$  .06 m. The letters are .03 m. high.

Λ Μ Θ Ε Ρ Α Μ Ε Ι Μ Ι τ]ās "Hpas εἰμί.

This inscription judging by Α and Ε and above all by Μ=σ must be considerably older than No. XII of the inscriptions on stone. It must date at least as far back as 500 B. C.

While it may belong to a large amphora, it may also be a lustral bowl. It might be the very bowl in which the mad king Kleomenes of Sparta dipped his bloody hands before performing his bootless sacrifice so graphically described by Herodotus (vi. 81 ff).

NOTE.—Professor J. R. WHEELER desires me to call attention to the fact that the name Hybrilas (cf. *AJA.* ix, pp. 353, 548) is found also in the list of Proxeni, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 412, line 10 of the inscription, and in BAZIN, *Archiv. de Miss. Scient.* II, 369.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL NEWS.

### SUMMARY OF RECENT DISCOVERIES AND INVESTIGATIONS.

	PAGE.		PAGE.		PAGE.
NORTH AFRICA, . . . . .	76	ASSYRIA, . . . . .	107	PERSIA, . . . . .	92
SOUTH AFRICA, . . . . .	76	BABYLONIA, . . . . .	93	PHILISTIA, . . . . .	125
ALGERIA, . . . . .	86	EGYPT, . . . . .	62	SYRIA, . . . . .	120
ARABIA, . . . . .	110	KYPROS, . . . . .	136	TRIPOLI, . . . . .	77
ASIA MINOR, . . . . .	125	NUBIA, . . . . .	74	TUNISIA, . . . . .	78
		PALESTINE, . . . . .	123		

NOTE.—A list of abbreviations of the titles of societies and of periodicals cited in *Archæological News* will be found on the page following the *News*.

## AFRICA.

### EGYPT.

WORK OF THE SEASON.—*M. de Morgan* is now at KARNAK, where he is superintending the engineering work intended to strengthen the walls and columns of Karnak, which have been undermined by the infiltration of the water of the Nile. He intends to drain the Sacred Lake there, in the hope of finding ancient monuments under the mud. The money for this work has been provided by the Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt. *Professor Flinders Petrie* has already begun work at THEBES in the neighborhood of the Ramesseum and the famous Colossi of Amenophis. *M. Daressy* has taken up again the excavations he began last year at MEDINET HABU, on behalf of the Ghizeh Museum. A large part of the rubbish-mounds which covered the ruins has already been cleared away. *Captain Lyons* is at PHILÆ, engaged in removing all the rubbish which has accumulated on the island. He will excavate down to the foundation of the temples, and to the blocks of granite on which they stand. In the course of the work it may be expected that many important inscriptions and other relics of antiquity will be discovered. The work has been undertaken by the Ministry of Public Works in connection with the reservoir for the storage of the Nile water, which is to be constructed above the first cataract.—*Biblia*, March, '96.

DESTRUCTIVE AND UNSCIENTIFIC EXCAVATION.—*DR. SCHWEINFURTH* has sent an important letter to the editor of the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische*

*Sprache* on the ruthless destruction of the monuments and remains of ancient Egypt which is going on at such an alarming rate in the name of scientific discovery. In a few years nothing will be left. Invaluable scientific facts are being destroyed through the ignorance and haste of the explorers: even such things as the seeds of plants and the stones of fruit, which the archaeologist might be tempted to throw aside, are capable of casting unexpected light on the past history of civilized man. At present, whole cemeteries are being ransacked and pillaged merely for the sake of filling the Ghizeh Museum with objects which may strike the visitor, or of providing the dealer with antiquities which he may sell to the foreigner. All record is lost of the history and mode of the discovery; even facts so indispensable to science as a knowledge of what objects were found together in a tomb are hopelessly lost. It is not only the dealers and their agents who are responsible for this state of things; the administration of the Ghizeh Museum is equally to blame. Natives are commissioned to excavate for it without any scientific supervision; and, where properly trained Europeans are present, the work is done on too large a scale for attention to be given to what are called small objects. There is only one remedy: let the Museum cease to excavate for the present, and devote itself to the preservation of the few monuments which still remain intact, and above all to the arrangement and registration of the overgrown collections with which the rooms of the Ghizeh Palace are now filled.—*Academy*, Oct. 15, '95.

**THE HYKSOS DYNASTY OF EGYPT.**—PROFESSOR W. MAX MÜLLER writes to the *SST*, of Jan. 25: "Somewhat after 2000 B. C. the empire on the Nile was for the first time disturbed by a foreign invasion. Hordes of barbarians suddenly appeared on the eastern frontier, and overran the whole country. After devastating Egypt they settled there, and established a kingdom which lasted for several centuries. Lower Egypt was under the direct dominion of these foreign rulers, who held the country in subjection by two hundred and forty thousand (?) soldiers garrisoned in Avaris, an immense fortified camp on the eastern frontier. Upper Egypt remained under the administration of national princes, paying tribute to the barbarians. Finally the Egyptian suzerain kings of Thebes grew strong enough to throw off the yoke of the foreigners, and to expel them, after a long and hard struggle, about 1600 B. C. Such is, in brief, the report of the Græco-Egyptian historian Manetho (third century B. C.) on the foreign kings whom he calls Hyksos.

"Owing to the destruction, by Egyptian patriots, of all monuments bearing the names of these 'foreign miserales,' only a few of these monuments have come down to our time. Therefore the question of

their origin has been discussed without any resulting agreement among scholars. The Hyksos invaders were brought into connection with all nations that ever penetrated into western Asia—as the Elamitic conquerors of Babylonia before 2000 B.C. (Lenormant, E. Meyer, Naville), the Cossæans [or Kassites] who followed their example about 1730 (Sayce, lately), the Hittites (Mariette), prehistoric Hamites from Babylonia (Lepsius), Turanians (Virchow), etc. The majority of scholars, however, thought of the Shemitic neighbors of Egypt, such as nomadic Arabs from the desert, or Canaanites from Palestine. This view, mentioned already by Josephus (about A. D. 80), became more and more prevalent.

“Professor Hilprecht,<sup>1</sup> a short time ago, pointed out that the only foreign name of an earlier Hyksos king found so far (his later successors assumed already Egyptian names), *Kheyân*, agrees with that of *Khayân*, a Hittite king in northern Syria, mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions of the ninth century. The counter-mark for the correctness of his observation is the identity of the principal god of Hyksos and Hittites—that is, ‘*Sutekh*, the lord of heaven.’ It is erroneous to call this Sutekh an Egyptian deity. He did not enter the Egyptian pantheon before about 1320, introduced by the kings of the nineteenth dynasty in consequence of their long wars and treaties with the Hittites. Therefore nothing is more probable than to associate the bold Hyksos invaders of Syria and the warlike Hittites—namely, the immediate neighbors of the northern Shemites (in Kappadokia)—as identical, or, at least, closely related. The Hyksos kings had a large dominion also in Syria. They possessed not only southern Palestine, whither they were persecuted by the victorious Egyptians (the siege of Sharuhen, in the territory of Simeon, is mentioned), but also, most likely, Phœnicia, which the Egyptians attacked immediately afterwards. A small stone lion with the name of king *Kheyân* (see above), discovered in Bagdad, near Babylon, was certainly not carried there by a fleeing Hyksos (Deveria). I do not venture to make King *Kheyân* (on account of this strayed monument) king even of Babylonia (Petrie), but I think the stone, evidently shipped down the Euphrates, may prove the extent of Hyksos rule to the banks of this river. This discovery of a forgotten powerful empire shows to us that chances of discovery in the same way are left for several great empires mentioned in the Bible, and doubted on account of the

<sup>1</sup> NOTE.—Hyksos, Hittites, and Kassites are related to each other, according to Professor Hilprecht. As he accepts Jensen's decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions, and the relation claimed by the latter for the language of the Hittites with old Armenian, the Hyksos and Kassites would also be of Indo-European origin.—EDITOR SST.



lack of monumental evidence. Above all, the vexed question of Palestinian Hittites, whose existence seems contradicted at least by monuments of the fourteenth century, may need reconsideration some day. Only in passing I remind the reader of the tradition (in Church Fathers) which makes Joseph's Pharaoh a Hyksos ruler."

**THE HYKSOS WERE KASSITE ELAMITES.**—A. H. SAYCE writes in the *Academy* (Sept. 7, '95): "I now know to what language and people the name of the Hyksos god Sutekh belongs. It is Kassite; and the suggestion of Dr. Brugsch is thus confirmed, which brought the Hyksos from the mountains of Elam. A Babylonian seal-cylinder (No. 391) in the Metropolitan Museum of New York bears an inscription which shows that it belonged to 'Uzi-Sutakh, son of the Kassite (*Kassu*), the servant of Burna-buryas,' a king of the Kassite dynasty, who ruled over Babylonia B. C. 1400. The name of Sutakh is preceded by the determinative of divinity. We can now understand why it is that the name has never been found in Syria or in the lists of Babylonian divinities, and we can further infer that the Hyksos leaders were of Kassite origin. The Hyksos invasion of Egypt, accordingly, would have formed part of that general movement which led to the rise of the Kassite dynasty in Babylonia."

**INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF AMENOPHIS IV.**—Dr. A. WIEDEMANN (*SBA*, vol. xvii, p. 152), describes five monuments of the period of Amenophis IV. The short reign of this king was of such importance to the history of Egyptian religion and art, that each text of this period must have a particular value. No. 4 (nearly at the same period, though not during the ascendancy of the Athen-cult) is described as a bas-relief in Florence (Cat. Schiaparelli, p. 314, No. 1588) which reminds one of the house-plans found in the tombs of Tell-el-Amarna. It represents an Egyptian custom (noticed by Greek authors) of preserving in one room of the house mummy-formed coffins containing the corpses of dead relatives. The excavations of Petrie at Hawara confirm these notices for the later time, but documents of older periods relating to this custom were wanting till now.

**KARIAN AND LYDIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN EGYPT.**—In *SBA* (1895, pp. 39-43), Prof. A. H. SAYCE (referring to his paper on the Karian Language and Inscriptions in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. ix, pt. I) publishes and comments several fresh inscriptions which are written in the Karian alphabet, and three Greek inscriptions from the temple of Thothmes III at Wadi Halfa. (1) Seven Karian texts were found on the columns and walls of the same temple at Wadi Halfa, which "seem to point to the existence of a Karian garrison on the spot in the age of the xxvi dynasty, or of the Persian dynasties which followed"; (2) two Karian rock-inscriptions

found opposite Silweh on the Nile; (3) a rock-inscription (No. v) on the west bank of the Nile north of Silsilis, which Prof. Sayce believes to be "a specimen of the long-lost Lydian alphabet and language." It had been cut along with some hieroglyphic inscriptions mostly of the XI and XII dynasties. Prof. Sayce develops his reasons for thinking this inscription to be an example of the Lydian alphabet.

**THE DESCENT OF PROPERTY IN EARLY EGYPTIAN HISTORY.**—In many tombs of the fourth, fifth and sixth dynasties are found processions of farm-servants, each servant personifying and being associated with the name of a farm belonging to the deceased. Many of the names occur in different tombs, hence it is possible to obtain some information as regards the descent of property in those times. The period covered is roughly from four to five hundred years. The tombs of the fifth dynasty give considerable information, but the farm-lists become rare in the sixth dynasty. There are in all the lists about four hundred and fifty farm names altogether, and of these about forty recur in different tombs. By connecting a series of such names together, farm-lands may be traced from Merab through a series of eight successive owners until they fell into the possession of Ptah-hotep.—Miss M. A. MURRAY in *SBA*, vol. XVII, p. 240.

**TWO MONUMENTS WITH A VOTIVE FORMULA FOR A LIVING PERSON.**—Dr. A. WIEDEMANN communicates to the *SBA* (May 7, '95), two of these monuments, with statement that the inscriptions on many of the so-called sepulchral monuments (especially the *stelae*) prove that they were votive offerings for living persons (not for the dead), even though the formula relates to the *Ka* of the person. As on the offerings for the dead, the inscriptions on those for the living are composed after fixed formulae. Two examples are described: (1) A fragment of a round-top *stela* of calcareous stone in Geneva, Musée Fol, 1305; (2) water basin of calcareous stone, Geneva University Museum, D. 59.—*SBA*, vol. XVII, p. 195.

**A HEAD OF THE SAÏTIC EPOCH.**—At a sitting of the *SAF* (May 8, '95), M. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE presented an Egyptian head in green basalt, of the Saïtic epoch, bought at Cairo by Mme. Alfred André. This head is that of a personage of whom the Louvre already possesses two busts. The work is of special interest on account of the fastidious care with which the physiognomy has been rendered, the sculptor being intent on reproducing the smallest details of the face and of the cranium. The anatomy is scrupulously studied. On all three heads the same methods have been used to accentuate the wrinkles and to indicate the marks of old age. In the ancient-Egyptian art there are neither children nor old men; the individuals are always of the same age. At the Saïtic epoch, on the contrary, the Egyptian artists exe-

cutted veritable portraits. One of these examples in the Louvre is of larger dimensions; it is cut from a piece of rose granite; the nose is in a better state of preservation than in the specimen of Mme. André. In the latter, the mouth is intact, and the material (green basalt) is softer and pleasanter to the eye. Below the eyes and on the top of the head there exist some scarcely-perceptible differences between the two heads. The qualities most to be admired in the head belonging to Mme. André, are the flexibility of the modelling and the perfection of the work. The finish of the execution produces an effect all the more striking by reason of the greater resistance of the material.

**EGYPTOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.**—The annual report of the *Société Asiatique* (*Journ. Asiatique*, vi, p. 167) gives an interesting *résumé* of Egyptological publications of the last two years. Especially noteworthy are the labors of Maspero, who in addition to his learned *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient classique* (t. 1) has found time to write a series of articles for various journals, and to publish the inscriptions of the pyramids of Sakkarah. These two years have witnessed the publication of monographs concerning individual temples: that of *Edfou* by Marquis Rochemonteix, *Philæ* by Georges Bénédict, *Luxor* by Al Gayet, *Deir-el-Bahari* by Edouard Naville, upon the *Theban Tombs* by V. Scheil, as well as the important excavations of De Morgan at *Dashur*, and many other articles upon Egyptian history, philology, geography and botany.

**CLASSIFICATION OF EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHS.**—Prof. FLINDERS PETRIE has inaugurated the formation of a classified collection of Egyptian hieroglyphs for the use of the students of his class at University College, Gower Street. It is intended to include, in the series, water-colour paintings of the hieroglyphic characters of all periods, drawn directly from the monuments.—*Athen.*, Aug. 17, '95.

**ALEXANDRIA.—DISCOVERY OF THE SERAPEION.**—The excavations by Dr. BOTTI, the Director of the Alexandrian Museum, in the neighbourhood of Pompey's Pillar, have resulted in the discovery of the Serapeion, where the last of the great libraries of Alexandria was preserved. An elaborate account of his researches, with an admirable plan, has been given by the discoverer in a memoir on *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapeum*, presented to the Archaeological Society of Alexandria a month ago. Dr. Botti was first led to make his explorations by a passage in the orator Aphthonios, who visited Alexandria about A. D. 315. The orator describes the akropolis of Alexandria as close to the *stadion*, and to have been approached by a single pathway, consisting of 100 steps, which led to a *propylaion* supported on four columns. This opened into an *oikos* or covered hall surmounted by a cupola, and this again into a great square court surrounded on all

sides by columns. Porticoes separated the court from the library, as well as from the shrines in which the gods had formerly been worshipped. Some of the empty shrines seem to have been appropriated to books in the time of Aphthonios. Everything was profusely gilded, and the central court was decorated with sculptured works of art, among which the exploits of Perseus were of especial value, while in the middle of it rose "a column of surpassing size," visible from the sea as well as from the land, and serving as a sort of sign-post for visitors to Alexandria. Dr. Botti shows conclusively that this column was Pompey's Pillar, to which the description given by the Greek orator is as applicable to-day as it was in the fourth century. By the side of the column were a fountain and two obelisks.

The great court was still standing in the twelfth century, and its columns are described by mediæval Arabic writers. We learn from Edrisi that there were sixty-seven columns on each of the longer sides of the rectangle, and sixteen on each of the shorter sides. Remains of the court and columns were found by Mahmūd Pasha el-Falaki when he excavated on the spot in 1865. Dr. Botti has now discovered the *piscina* of the fountain, as well as the channels cut through the rock which conducted the water into it. He has discovered inscriptions of the time of Hadrian and Severus, dedicated to "Serapis, and the deities worshipped with him in the temple." Tacitus (*Hist.* iv. 84) tells us that the Serapeion stood upon the site of an ancient sanctuary of Isis and Osiris in the old Egyptian town of Racotis, the western division of the later Alexandria; and it is just here that Pompey's Pillar is situated. Bruchion, the eastern division of the city, was destroyed in A. D. 275, forty years before Aphthonios wrote. Besides the inscriptions, Dr. Botti has found remains of gilded ornaments and a bull of fine workmanship, all of which come from the great central court. He has also found a few tombs, and, above all, long subterranean passages cut through the rock under the site of the ancient building, and once accessible from the court. The passages are broad and lofty, and were originally faced with masonry. Here and there are niches in the rock for the lamps which illuminated them. Nothing has been found in the passages except some broken pottery, but at the entrance of one of them are two *proskynemata* scratched on the rock by pious visitors. The passages, therefore, must have been used for religious worship; and we are reminded of the fact that similar subterranean passages were needed for the Mysteries of Serapis, and that Rufinus informs us that they actually existed under the Serapeion at Alexandria.—*Acad.*, Sept. 21, '95.

**MUNICIPAL MUSEUM.**—The Alexandria Municipal Museum, erected for the preservation of antiquities belonging to the Greek, Roman, and

Early-Coptic periods, was inaugurated by the Khedive on September 26, and is now open to the public. The collection has lately been enriched by valuable donations of jewels, gold ornaments, etc., from the collection of the late Sir John Antoniadis, and of coins from Mr. Glymenopoulo; and, the director-general of the Antiquities Department having promised to fill up all disposable space with contributions of Greek and Roman relics now lying in the Ghizeh Museum at Cairo, its interest and value will shortly become largely increased.—*London Times*.

**ASSUAN.**—The *sebakh*-diggers have brought to light three Roman altars of granite, with Latin inscriptions, in the rubbish-heaps southeast of the railway station at Assuan. Two of them stand on the southern side of a roadway which once led to a temple, in a line with a stone (to the east) which formerly served as part of a gatepost, while the third faces them on the opposite side of the old road. The latter bears inscriptions on two of its sides. One of these is dedicated to Tiberius by the prefect of Egypt, C. Vitrasius Pollio, and the Ituraean cohort, in the third year of the emperor; while the second is addressed to Nerva by C. Pompeius Planta, the prefect of Egypt, and L. Cinucius Priscus, the prefect of the camps on the part of the first regiment of Spanish cavalry, the second regiment of Ituraean cavalry, and the first regiment of Theban cavalry under the general command of Claudius Justus, the prefect of the Theban cohort. On the south side of the old roadway one of the altars is dedicated to Trajan by C. Avidius Heliodorus, the prefect of Egypt, and M. Oscius Drusus, the prefect of the camps, on the part of the first cohort of Cilician horse, and the other to Aurelius Verus by M. Annius Suriacus, the prefect of Egypt, and L. Arivasius Casianus, the prefect of the camps, on behalf of the same cohort.—A. H. SAYCE, in *Acad.*, March 14.

**CAIRO.**—**DEMOLITION AT THE ROMAN FORTRESS OF BABYLON.**—We receive the intelligence from Cairo of very serious destruction having taken place at the Roman fortress (known as Babylon) at Cairo, which stands just outside the city at Fostat, or old Cairo. We are informed that two of the three huge rounded bastions on the southwest face have been levelled to the ground, and a large modern house built on the site of the more northern bastion, the one which stood at the angle of the fortress. The Roman gateway, standing between one of the bastions destroyed and the southern bastion of the former three, has been excavated to the ground-level, and a wall is being built before it—apparently with the intention of afterwards pulling down the gateway and the remaining bastion. Other demolition of the fortress is spoken of. It must be said that the responsibility rests with the English officials, who have allowed this single and majestic monument of

Roman dominion in Egypt—this “splendid Roman building, unique in construction,” as Mr. Butler terms it in his *Ancient Coptic Churches in Egypt*—to be pulled down under their very eyes.—*Athen.*, Nov. 23, '95.

We hear on good authority that the Egyptian Government has at last interfered to prevent any further destruction of the ancient fortress of Kasr-ash-Shammah, the Babylon of Roman and mediæval times, and also that it is intended to put the old Christian churches of Egypt under the care of a committee similar to that which already exists for the protection of the mosques. If these steps had been taken three years since, much now irreparable loss would have been prevented.—*Athen.*, Jan. 25, '96.

**DASHUR.**—Some notice has already been given in the JOURNAL (vol. x, 233) of the new discoveries by M. de Morgan of jewelry at Dashur. M. Gayet now publishes in the *GBA* (July, 1895, p. 75) a coronal of the princess Khnoumit of very delicate workmanship, as well as a series of necklaces and amulets belonging to the same princess. The amulets show a great variety of form and represent *cloisonné* workmanship of cornelian, *lapis lazuli*, and Egyptian emerald. The enumeration of the individual objects shows this discovery to have been one of the most important in the history of Egyptian excavations.

**ELEPHANTINE.**—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHEOPS.—A. H. SAYCE writes from Egypt to the *Academy* (of March 14) under date of Feb. 20, '96: I have discovered an inscription coeval with Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid of Gizeh, here in the island of Elephantinê. The *sebakh*-diggers have been very busy during the past summer among the mounds of the old city, which stood at the southern end of the island, and have pulled down a part of the ancient city wall, which was built in one place upon granite boulders. The inscription is upon one of the boulders, and records the visit to Assuan of Khufu-ânkh, whose beautiful granite sarcophagus is now in the Cairo Museum. There is a drawing of Khufu-ânkh himself, leaning upon a stick, as well as of his boat, and the name of the king is “writ large” within a horizontal cartouche. The only deity mentioned is Anubis. The inscription seems to have been engraved at the time when Khufu-ânkh conveyed his sarcophagus to the north; as there is no reference to a pyramid, his visit can hardly have had anything to do with the transport of the granite blocks for the tomb of the king at Gizeh. It is the first time that any monument so old as the iv dynasty has been found in the extreme south of Egypt, and it must have been inscribed before the city of Elephantinê was surrounded with a wall. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any city could at the time have existed on the spot. In that case, however, it would not have been long afterwards that a town sprang up. I have bought a



seal-cylinder, discovered in the rubbish-heaps, which is of very early date, and were it not for the hieroglyphs upon it would be pronounced of archaic Babylonian origin. It bears the name of "Sat(?)-khens, the governor of the two lands," as well as of his dogs Unsha and Zetef, whose pictures accompany their names. Small fragments of papyrus have also been found, containing the names of Ra-meri and Neferka-Ra, thus affording a fresh confirmation of Manetho's statement, that the v and vi dynasties came from Elephantinê.

**HELWÂN** (NEAR).—RESERVOIR OF THE OLD EMPIRE.—In a recent number of Westermann's *Monatschrift* (LXXVIII), Dr. Schweinfurth has published an interesting account of his discovery of the remains of an early Egyptian reservoir in the Wadi Gerrâwi, a little more than six miles south of Helwân. In order to preserve the rainwater due to occasional thunderstorms in the desert, a great dyke of large stones was built across the mouth of the Wadi, at a distance of some miles from the bank of the Nile. The dyke was sixty-six metres in length at its base, and eighty metres in its upper part. Dr. Schweinfurth's further explorations showed that it had been constructed for a colony of stone-cutters, who worked in the alabaster quarries he discovered in the neighbourhood, and for whose use a road, of which he found the traces, was made. In an alabaster quarry, 3½ miles to the north-west, he came across a figure of "Ptah the lord" rudely engraved on a block of stone. The figure takes us back to the time when Memphis, with its patron-god Ptah, was the capital of Egypt; and in the great stone dyke we may therefore see a relic of the building operations of the Old Empire.—*Acad.*, Oct. 12, '95.

**PHILÆ.**—The Cairo correspondent of the London *Times* writes under date of February 17: "Captain Lyons has discovered that the foundations of the main temple of Isis are laid upon the granite rock, being in some places over 21 feet in depth, and the temple has nearly as much masonry below ground as above. The southeastern colonnade has also its foundations upon the granite, and, so far as excavated, they are curious if not unique in design. They consist of parallel cross-walls some metres high, but varying according to the slope of the rock surface, with large stone slabs placed horizontally upon their tops, and the pillars forming the colonnade are erected upon the slabs. The nilometer is marked in three characters—Demotic, Coptic, and another much older, probably Hieratic, of which a copy has been sent to Berlin for decipherment. No traces have been discovered of any buildings anterior to the Ptolemaic periods."

A. H. SAYCE writes from Egypt to the *Academy* (of March 14) under date of Feb. 20, '96: The excavations of *Captain Lyons* at PHILÆ have been fruitful in results. On the north side of the island he has

cleared the site of a temple of Augustus; and on the south side of it he has restored the stately colonnade to something of its original splendour, by removing the rubbish in which it was buried and repairing the columns. Here, too, he has been able to rebuild a ruined temple begun by Ptolemy IV, and finished by Tiberius; and has found that the Ethiopian king Ergamenes also took part in its construction, thus verifying Professor Mahaffy's conclusion, that he was a contemporary of Philopater. At present Captain Lyons is clearing the houses and streets of the Coptic town of Philae, or rather the *Castrum* of the late-Roman period, and in the course of doing so has disinterred several interesting inscriptions. Two of these are on the walls of the great temple, and record the names of two prophets of a new deity, Ptiris, who is represented in an adjoining picture with a hawk's head, a crocodile's body, and a tail in the form of an uræus serpent. One of the inscriptions is dated in the year 435 A. D. Several other inscriptions have turned up which throw light on the history of Philae in the late-Roman or Byzantine period; but the crowning discovery of all was made last week. In the neighbourhood of the temple of Augustus, Captain Lyons found a granite stele, on which, below the figure of an armed horseman trampling on a fallen enemy who vainly tries to defend himself with a shield, is a trilingual inscription in hieroglyphs, Latin and Greek. The text is of historical importance, as it relates to "the Roman citizen C. Cornelius Gallus, the first prefect of Alexandria and Egypt," who, "after the conquest of the kings by Augustus, suppressed a revolt in the Thebaid in fifteen days and captured the five cities of Borësis, Koptos, Ceramicë, Diospolis [Thebes], and the great city of Ophiëum, putting to death their five leaders and leading the Roman army beyond the cataract of Abaton, into a region never before visited by the Roman people or the kings of Egypt." He then "received the ambassadors of the Ethiopians at Philae," took their king under Roman protection, and made him ruler of the Triacontaschoenus (for which see Ptol. *Geog.* iv. 7, 32, ed. Nobbe). Finally, the Roman prefect gave thank-offerings to all the gods and especially "to Nilus who had helped" him. The hieroglyphic text is dated in the first year of Augustus, the 20th day of the fourth month.

**THEBES.** — DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT-KINGDOM TOMBS. — "As no monuments of the Ancient Kingdom have hitherto been found at Thebes, it may be of interest to know that I have discovered in the northern Asasif two tombs which without doubt belong to this early period. One of them is the tomb of a 'governor of the nome' whose 'good name' (*ren-ef nefer*) was Ahy: the scenes in it are executed in relief and well preserved. The other is in a very mutilated condition,



but I hope before long to make out most of the inscriptions in it. I have also made many other important finds in the Theban necropolis this autumn; but perhaps the most interesting is the discovery of a parallel text to the one in the tomb of Rekhmara, giving the duties of the *Wesîr* of Thebes. By this new text I can restore much that is defective in the Rekhmara inscription."—P. E. NEWBERRY, in *Acad.*, Jan. 11, '96.

**FOUNDATION-DEPOSIT OF THE RAMESSEUM.**—MR. QUIBELL has made an important discovery in his excavations at the Ramesseum, namely, the foundation-deposit of the temple. It consists of glazed tiles in blue bearing the cartouche of Rameses II in gold inlay, a large brick, and many small plaques in *faïence*, also bearing cartouches, models of tools, and other objects.—*Athen.*, Feb. 15, '96.

**WINTER'S EXCAVATIONS.**—Prof. FLINDERS PETRIE commenced his season's excavations at Thebes in the middle of December, and has already discovered a temple of Thothmes IV a little to the south of the Ramesseum. Prof. Petrie considers the temple to have been demolished by Rameses II. The ground-plan of the temple and pylons is clearly shown by the foundation walls. Prof. Naville is expected to arrive at Thebes in the beginning of January, when he will resume the excavation of Deir el Bahari, and it is believed will finish it by the end of March. Meanwhile, Mr. H. Carter and Mr. Percy Brown are engaged in copying the sculpture and inscriptions on the temple. The result of their labours promises to be a work which, for accuracy of drawing and transcription, will be remarkable among publications on the monuments of ancient Egypt.—*Athen.*, Jan. 11, '96.

A. H. SAYCE writes from Egypt to the *Academy* under date of Feb. 20, '96. Many excavators have been at work at Thebes this winter; but the results are somewhat disappointing. *M. de Morgan* had succeeded in pumping the water out of the sacred lake at KARNAK, but without finding anything of importance; and *Dr. Naville* at DËR-EL-BÂHARI, and *M. Daressy* at MEDINET HABÛ, have been mainly occupied in completing the work of last year and clearing the floors of the two temples. *Miss Benson* has discovered some fragments of statues of a good period in the temple of Mut at KARNAK; and *Professor Petrie* has found that the KOM-EL-HËLÂN (west of the Colossi) is not the site of a temple of Amenôphis III, as has hitherto been supposed, but of Meneptah, who made use of sculptured stones and other monuments belonging to a building of Amenôphis III, which may have been the palace discovered by *M. Grébaut* in 1889 to the south of Medinet Habû. North of this temple of Meneptah, *Professor Petrie* has discovered a temple of a queen who reigned in her own right and assumed the titles of a king. She seems to have been

the Thuôris of Manetho, the last sovereign of the XIX dynasty. North of her temple, and between it and the Ramesseum, Professor Petrie has further laid bare the foundations of a temple of Thothmes IV; while to the north of the Ramesseum Dr. Spiegelberg (who has been copying the multitudinous hieratic *graffiti* of Thebes) has found the remains of a temple of Amenôphis I. And at ABYDOS M. Amelineau has discovered a tomb belonging to a son of Shishak I.

**LAST EXCAVATIONS.**—We are kindly permitted by Prof. Breasted of Chicago University to make the following extracts from a private letter from Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, dated Luxor, February 14, 1896, and summing up this explorer's winter work in Egypt: "The Ramesseum is of Rameses II—the only thing left unchanged. The chapel of Uazmes was rebuilt by Amenhotep III, as his ring was under the door-sill. The temple next south is of Tahutmes IV—yet unnamed in maps. Next is a big tomb of Khonsuardus, goldsmith of the temple of Amen, XXV dyn. Then comes the levelled plain with a scarp of rock-gravel on the w. and s., marked on maps; and on the plain—but later than its levelling—was a temple of Queen Tausert as sole ruler, '*Tausert, setep en Mut, Sat Ra, mery Amen*,' who has left us in foundation-deposits 500 scarabs and plaques of colored glazes with cartouches, and 1,200 glazed objects, besides three slabs with the names. Then south of that is the so-called temple of Amenhotep III, which is really the funeral temple of Merenptah. That beast smashed up all the statues and sculptures of Amenhotep II to put into his foundations, and wrecked the gorgeous temple behind the colossi for building-material. We have a few fine pieces of Amenhotep III; and the upper half of a fine black-granite statue of Merenptah. I am now going to clear two small temples north of the Ramesseum; so you see we are getting through the field of temples here at a pretty good rate. Quibell is doing the Ramesseum, and I am doing the others. We make complete plans of all the buildings and foundations. This sort of clearing up is what 'exploration' should be, and not merely the elaborate clearing out of one building. The whole lot of half-a-dozen temple sites we shall clear up, and fix historically, for about \$2,500 or \$3,000. . . . I bought a piece of a stele dedicated by the 'Royal son, 'Ahmes, called sapa'r,' explaining his name. He is figured as a boy. *Bant anta* was probably mother of Merenptah, as her name occurs in his temple ruins, but no other relatives."—*N. Y. Nation*, March 26, '96.

#### NUBIA.

**TRILINGUAL STELE.**—M. Maspero announced at the March 6, '96, sitting of the *AIBL*, that CAPTAIN LYONS, entrusted by the Egyp-

tian government with the oversight of Nubia, had just discovered at Phibre an inscription in hieroglyphs in Greek and in Latin, engraved on a stele. The monument was divided longitudinally in two almost equal portions, and the division has destroyed several letters in the middle of each of these three texts. The hieroglyphic portion occupied the summit: at the top one could distinguish a horseman treading under foot one or several enemies who were overturned on the earth, but the whole is very indistinct. On the right, three vertical columns enumerate the gods of the Abaton, Osiris, Isis, and Horus; on the left, three other columns name Khnoumou, master of the cataract and of Nubia, Sothis, lady of Elephantinê, Anoukit who resides at Elephantinê. The body of the inscription contains ten lines, which are so mutilated that the author of the copy could not extract from it a text which admitted of a possible translation. One can distinguish, on the first line, a date, the year 1, then the protocol of Augustus, and, on lines three and four, two mentions of the country of Pouanît and that of the Negroes, which seem to contain an allusion to contemporary facts. The whole ends in prayers to the gods of the Abaton and of the Cataract for the prosperity of the emperor. The Latin text follows immediately after the hieroglyphic text. The copy is better, but it is still not very satisfactory. It contains nine lines: *C. Cornelius Cn. f. Gallus, (eq)ues Romanus, post reges | a Cuesare divi f. devictos, prefec(tus Alex)andriae et Aegypti primus, defectioni(s) | Thebaides intra dies XV, quibus hostem s(travit a)cie, victor, V urbium expugnator, Bore(se o)s, Copti, Ceramices, Diospoleos Meg(ales, Ophie)i, et ducibus earum defectionum interf(ec)tis, exercitu ultra Nili caracte(n . . . ded)ucto, in quem locum neque populo | Romano neque regibus Aegpt(i)or(um signa s)unt prolata. Thebaide communi omn(i)um regum formidine subac(ta). leg(atisque re)gis Aethiopum ad Philas auditis, eoq(ue) | rege in tutelam recepto tyrann(o xxi sc)hoeni (i)n fine Aethiopiae constituto, Dic(is) | patrieis et N(ilo adiuto)ri. . . .* The Greek text also contains nine lines. The revolt which is spoken of in this inscription was known by Strabon and Dion Cassius. The date of it was not very certain, and there was an inclination to place it during the last days of the government of Cornelius Gallus. If the copy of the hieroglyphic text be exact, it would belong to the year 1 of Augustus as king of Egypt, in 30-29, B. C.

The expressions relative to the cataract make allusion to the contests of the Ptolemies with their southern subjects. The Thebaïd, always in revolt against its Greek masters, had still quite recently had its native Pharaohs, many of whom have been mentioned by M. Révillout: it would appear that at this very epoch it was at times a dependency of the kingdom of Ethiopia. The embassy of this latter has been interpreted by Gallus as a mark of submission: the Romans

established a sovereign vassal in Nubia, and that country took here the unusual name of *Triakontaskene*, which was reduced later to no more than a *Dodekaskene*. Dion Cassius recounts that Cornelius Gallus, inflated with vanity by the favor of the prince, allowed himself to be drawn on to receive proposals and to write documents, which (reported later to Augustus) brought about his disgrace and his death: the general tone of the new inscription confirms the testimony of the historian.—*RC*, March 16, '96.

#### NORTH AFRICA.

**BYZANTINE FORTRESSES.**—M. DIEHL has published a long report (*Nouvelles archives des Missions*, iv, 1893, published 1894, pp. 285-434, and 24 plates) of two journeys, which he made in 1892 and 1893, for the study of the Byzantine monuments of North Africa: these are in large measure fortresses. He shows that a distinction must be made between the fortified retreats, hastily erected by the inhabitants, and the official fortresses constructed after a well-defined plan by the government. These last cover four extensive lines of defence, the first line having been established about 535 A. D., and form the complicated system adopted and executed under Justinian. In these military constructions there are four separate divisions: (1) the fortified cities protected by vast enclosures and generally containing a donjon-keep on the highest point; (2) the citadels, defending the unfortified cities where the houses are grouped at their base; (3) the isolated fortresses, defending some important strategic position; (4) the small forts connecting the different strongholds or serving as lookouts.—*MAH*, 1895, pp. 317-19.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

**THE SITE OF OPHIR.**—A writer in the *Jewish Times* says that a new light has been thrown upon our guesses after the site of the district of Ophir, mentioned in the Scriptures as rich in gold, precious stones, ivory, and birds of beautiful plumage. It has generally been supposed that it lay in India, and that it was from that part of the world the ships of King Solomon, as well as those of the King of Tyre, brought the treasures which enriched their cities. No less an authority than Dr. Carl Peters has been persuaded by documents which have recently come under his eyes, that not India, but Africa, must be credited with the bountiful supply alluded to in the Bible. Dr. Peters has published the result of his research, which is based on an historical atlas recently discovered by him. It was printed at Amsterdam in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and it proves that its compiler was at that time

in possession of much knowledge respecting Africa, which we flatter ourselves to have been discovered at the latter half of the nineteenth century, but which is nearly 200 years old. We know that the Portuguese had flourishing colonies on the Congo and Zambesi rivers in the seventeenth century. The old Dutch atlas divulges an early knowledge of the east and southwest coasts of Africa, of the courses of the rivers Congo and Zambesi and other neighboring streams, of the dwarf tribes of Akka, and of the great forest in the northwestern bend of the Congo. Moreover, this historical atlas speaks of the great treasures found in the Zambesi country—gold, jewels, and fine animals, and even goes so far as to indicate the sites of special gold mines. There, doubtless, are the ancient dominions of Mons-Mueni of Simbaoë, of which the ruins were recently found. Dr. Peters is firmly of opinion that these ruins are of Phœnician and Sabaian origin, and that here also was situated the *Ophir* mentioned in the Old Testament.—*Biblia*, March, '96; cf. *AJA*, vol. VIII, 491; vol. XI, p. 114.

#### TRIPOLI.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF EL AMROUNI.—M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU has taken up the study and interpretation of the bas-reliefs and of the bilingual inscription (Neo-Punic and Roman) from the mausoleum of El'Amrouni in Tripoli (see vol. x, p. 386) communicated a few months ago to the *Academy* by M. Philippe Berger. He commenced by comparing this remarkable monument with certain similar monuments discovered by himself at the beginning of this year, in the course of an exploration on the Tripolitan coast, in the neighborhood of Khoms, the ancient Leptis Magna, two days east from Tripoli. The mausoleums of Leptis like those of El'Amrouni consist of high square towers richly adorned with columns, pilasters and sculptures. Among the scattered materials of these sumptuous funerary edifices, which have suffered greatly from the effects of earthquakes, M. Clermont-Ganneau has found fragments of statues and bas-reliefs which decorated them, also some Roman inscriptions. It is very probable that many of these Roman inscriptions were, like those at El'Amrouni, accompanied by Punic inscriptions. Leptis, being one of the most important centres on the African coast subject to Carthage, gives promise of excavations fruitful for Punic epigraphy. Some of the bas-reliefs of the mausoleum of El'Amrouni represent scenes from the legend of Orpheus descending to Hades in search of Eurydike. A detail of one of these scenes remains unexplained; it is that where Orpheus and Eurydike, placed one behind the other, appear to be turning their steps toward the gate of Hades, whence they have just issued, when they ought to be turned away from it. M. Clermont-Ganneau explains that the artist wished

to express the psychological moment when (according to the ancient legend) Orpheus (in spite of the express prohibition of Persephone) has turned to look at Eurydike who was walking behind him, and she has found herself instantly drawn back again by an invisible force toward the dark kingdom.—August 16 of *AIBL*, in *RA*, Oct. '95.

### TUNISIA.

**MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS.**—The region of Dougga, in the centre of Tunisia, abounds in megalithic monuments: at *TEBOUSSOUK*, at *DOUGGA* also, and elsewhere, there exist important necropoli. M. Carton has made a long study of them in a book which has recently appeared (*Découvertes épigraphiques et archéologiques faites en Tunisie*, Paris, Leroux, 1895, pp. 325–400). These monuments belong to two types. (1) Some are real sepulchral chambers, more or less deep, surrounded or not by a circle of stones, and made of heavy materials. (2) The others are regularly constructed of cut stones; the chamber is reduced in size and is no more, properly speaking, than a sarcophagus around which a wall forms an enclosure of many courses. M. Carton thinks all these tombs are anterior to the Punic and Roman civilizations.

On the southwest of *DJIDJELLI*, M. Vire describes a dolmen surrounded by a double cromlech, in which stones have been used which offer characteristic signs of the tooling of the Roman epoch. Analogous observations have already been made at many points in the province of Constantine.—*MAH*, 1895, p. 304.

**ROMAN REMAINS.**—Commandant Goetschy gives some information with regard to the ruins near the route from *GAFSA* to *KAIROUAN*, especially on the great water reservoir (*majen Smaorii*) of which the arrangements are of interest (*Recueil de Constantine*, xxxiii, 1893, pp. 85–94). At *TALAH* he discovered a basrelief which appears to represent the rape of Proserpine by Pluton (*Ibid.*, p. 363 and plate). He also made some excavations in the cemeteries of *HAÏDRA* and of the neighboring region: in one tomb at *Haïdra*, he found a rolled tablet of lead with magical incantations, analogous to those found in large numbers at Carthage and Sousa (*Ibid.*, xxix, 1894, pp. 566–81).—*MAH*, 1895, p. 324.

**TERRACOTTA TILES.**—MM. Hannezo, Laurent and Molins have found at *HAÏMEB EL AÏOUN* (northeast of *Sbéitla*) an important series of those terracotta tiles which were frequently used, in the eastern part of Roman Africa, for lining the walls of the basilicas. Many of these tiles had been previously studied by M. le Blant (*RA*, 1893, ii, p. 273) and P. Delattre; M. Gauckler has signalized another, representing





Daniel in the lions' den, with the inscription *S(an)c(tu)s Daniel* (BSA, 1894, p. 67).—MAH, 1895, p. 325.

**MOSAIC OF HAMMÂM-EL-LIF.**—M. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE (in the name of M. Edward Schenck) presented to the *Société des Antiquaires* a series of twenty-one photographs representing various details of the celebrated Mosaic of Hammâm-el-Lif. It is known that this large mosaic (discovered in 1883) decorated the interior of a synagogue. A summarized description of it, with references to the authors who have spoken of it, will be found under No. 12,457 of vol. VIII of the *Latin Corpus*. One part of the mosaic has been destroyed; another part, comprising two inscriptions, is preserved in Tunis at the *Musée Alaoui*; the third part, composed of twenty-one panels, is now at Toulouse, in the possession of M. Schenck, who acquired them after the death of Captain Prudhomme.

This is a summarized description of the photographs offered to the Society by M. Schenck. Nos. 1-2. Rectangular panels. An inscribed lozenge in each of these panels offers a representation of the seven-branched candlestick, on the right and left of which were placed the two attributes which frequently accompany the seven-branched candlestick upon antique monuments, and which are designated by the names *ethrog* and *schophar*. One of these is the sacred trumpet which was used among the Jews to announce the new year. The first of these panels was engraved in the *mémoire* of P. Delattre, entitled: *Gumart ou la nécropole juive de Carthage*, vignette of p. 39. In No. 2, the background has been restored, and the two attributes have disappeared. Nos. 3-16. Rectangular and square panels, each containing the representation of an animal, bird, fish or fruit—viz., a hyena, a lion, a cock, a guinea-fowl, a partridge, a duck, fish swimming, a dolphin, a basket of fruit, a palm-tree with two rows of dates, two shrubs and a bird. No. 17. Medallion with head of gazelle. No. 18. Medallion with head of a wild goat. No. 19. Medallion with head of lion, of a fine style. No. 20. Medallion ornamented with the bust of a young man, draped, with long hair, bearing on his left shoulder a curved baton. No. 21. Medallion with the bust of a helmeted woman (Roma?) the right breast uncovered, with a spear on the right.—BAF, 1895, pp. 150-52.

**ATLAS ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE LA TUNISIE.**—The special edition of all the maps, published by the French ministry of war, and indicating the position of all the ancient ruins, began to appear 1892. Three instalments have been published thus far; they contain the sheets on *Bizerte*, *Mateur*, *Nabeul*, *Hamammet*, *le djebel Achkel*, *Oudna*, *Tunis*, *la Goulette*, *El Melline*, *Porto-Farina*, *El Ariana*, and *la Marsa*. The map of Marsa is accompanied by an extensive plan of Carthage, with

explanatory text and special plans, very important for the topography of the African city.—*MAH*, 1895, pp. 322-23.

**ROMAN SCULPTURES.**—M. Héron de Villefosse communicated to the *Société des Antiquaires* (on the part of Captain Ch. Maumené) the photographs of two monuments discovered in Tunisia by this officer during the year of 1894. The first of these monuments was found at *Sidi-Solthan*, five kilometres south of Beja. It is a *stèle*, of very porous stone, rounded at the top, which came from a sanctuary of Saturn. On it is represented a ram, with a large tail, advancing toward the right, its head facing out; above this animal, at the right, is a circle with two small horns, a frequent symbol on votive monuments to Saturn; an elongated oval object (looking like a loaf of bread) forms the pendant on the left. The whole is surmounted by a crescent having at its centre a three-pointed star. Below the ram, within a moulding, we read: SATVRNO · AVG · SACR |  C · MAEVIVS · VICTOR  | . . . . . | . The rest of the inscription is defaced, but the presence of a third line is certain. At the beginning of the second line we see traces of an M and at the end of the same line traces of another letter.

The second monument is without inscription—it was found by the same officer, in the month of March, 1894, at *Henchir-Zatriah*, twelve kilometres northeast of Beja. It is about 75 cm. high, and is composed of two basreliefs in a hard and rough style, like all the Roman sculptures discovered in Africa, outside of the large cities on the coast. These two basreliefs must have come from a square monument, which originally was sculptured on at least three of its faces; they belong, doubtless, the first to the principal face and the second to the left lateral face. The first basrelief represents a warrior in profile, seated and turned toward the right; his raised right hand rests on a lance, his lowered left hand rests on a circular shield. He appears to be beardless, and on his head wears a round helmet crested with a horse-tail. His mantle, attached on the left shoulder, leaves uncovered the right arm as well as all the right side of the chest; on his feet are buskins. A breastplate and an elongated shield (similar to those upon the arch at Orange) are leaning against the seat. The second basrelief represents a winged victory draped, turned in profile toward the right; she holds in the left hand a palm and in the right hand a crown. She was evidently placed behind the seated personage on the first basrelief.—*SAF*, 1895, p. 81.

**BISICA** (BILGA).—Has been discovered, during the excavations made by the *Service des antiquités de la Régence*, a female head in marble, surmounted by a crescent and partly covered by a veil; it is a



representation of the celestial goddess (Gauckler, *Bull. Comité*, 1894, p. 276).—*MAH*, 1895, p. 326.

**CARTHAGE.—TERRACE-WALL FORMED OF AMPHORÆ.**—On the southern side of the hill of SAINT-LOUIS there is an extensive terrace standing on a strong system of support and intended to sustain some public edifice. P. Delattre has made a thorough study of the foundations of this terrace (*Bull. Comité*, 1894, pp. 89-119). It was composed: (1) of a long series of vaults of cut stone; (2) of a wall 4 met. 40 cm. wide, and at least 6 met. high, leaning on the extrados of the vaults. This wall is formed of several superimposed layers of amphoræ placed horizontally, alternating with layers of earth, of which the thickness was from 50 to 60 cm. The amphoræ bore inscriptions painted in red or black ink, drawn with a point or stamped. On some there were even consular dates of which the earliest was the year 43, and the latest the year 15 B. C. These indications allow one to attribute the sustaining wall to the reign of Augustus.—*MAH*, 1895, p. 327.

**COLOSSAL STATUES OF VICTORY.**—P. DELATTRE found on the hill of Saint-Louis, near the new Cathedral, several colossal statues representing Victories bearing trophies or horns of plenty. These sculptures decorated some important edifice, a temple of the Capitol according to P. Delattre, a temple of Victory according to M. Héron de Villefosse. The style of the statues indicates the first century A. D., or the beginning of the second (*CRA Inscriptions*, 1894, pp. 176, 197-201).—*MAH*, 1895, pp. 327-28.

**COLOSSAL MARBLE HEAD.**—At a meeting of the *SAF* (March 6, '95) M. Cagant read a note from M. GAUCKLER on a colossal marble head found at Carthage: "The colossal head, two photographs of which I have the honor to present to the *Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, was discovered at the Malga, on the borders of the amphitheatre of Carthage at a period which I have not been able to determine. The head is 54 cm. high and is finished at the neck by a plain section; perhaps it belonged to an acrolithic statue. If it were less mutilated it would possess a real interest. The work is broad and sober, with a certain savor of archaism. There is a vigor in the rendering of the characteristic lines of the face which is slightly prognathous. The work is of a good epoch; it appears to me to date back to the end of the first century A. D."

**THE PUNIC NECROPOLI.**—For several years P. Delattre has, with rare good fortune, pursued researches of great historic import in the various Punic necropoli of Carthage, of which it is now beginning to be possible to make a chronologic classification. He has recently explored the necropolis near the Serapeion, which belongs to the sixth century B. C. (For these excavations, see the information given by

MM. Héron de Villefosse and Delattre, *CRA Inscriptions*, 1894, pp. 405-406, 426-427, 432-440, 445-453; 1895, p. 61). He opened more than four hundred tombs, containing only buried bodies. They are, for the most part, either simple ditches, generally lined with slabs, or else ditches or wells at the bottom of which was dug out a small vault, just large enough to receive a body. Besides a quantity of pottery of local origin, one of the pieces bearing a Punic inscription drawn with a brush, there was found some jewelry, the ornamentation of which proves that it was made at Carthage, especially the following pieces: (1) a gold disk, serving as an amulet, which bears a globe flanked by two uræus surmounted by the hawk with outstretched wings, holding in its talons the crescent and the solar disk, religious emblems of the city; (2) a silver bracelet, with a four-winged divinity emerging from a scarab and having its head surmounted by a disk; below are also represented the crescent and the disk. Some scarabs in imitation of Egyptian, and some vials in enameled earthenware are also without doubt due to Phœnician industry. A sepulchral mask, strikingly realistic, represents an old man with open mouth. But, by the side of these objects of local make, were others which came from Greek workshops: a vase with black figures representing Achilles and Troilos, and also, without doubt, various figurines of which the most curious ones are some seated goddess-mothers. The most important tomb is a large vault (untouched at the time it was discovered) the walls of which were overlaid with white stucco; it contained two skeletons. Among other objects in it were two ostrich eggs, showing remnants of painted decorations, a hemispheric cup of silver, and several pieces of jewelry, one of which was a gold disk bearing this Punic inscription which M. Berger has deciphered (*CRA Inscip.*, 1894, pp. 453-458): "To Astarte, to Pygmalion, Iadamelek. Pygmalion protects whomsoever it pleaseth him." It has reference, as we can see then, to a god Pygmalion closely associated with Astarte.—*MAH*, Oct. '95, p. 311.

**RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT THE NECROPOLI.**—From time to time, during the last half of the year 1895, Père Delattre forwarded to the *AIBL* reports of his excavations, which we here reproduce from the sittings of the *Académie* in July and August, reported in the *Revue archéologique*.

*July 12.*—R. P. Delattre writes that more than forty tombs have been opened at Carthage during the month of March. The furnishing of these tombs is always nearly alike. These last contain, however, some small painted vases. One tomb alone contained terracotta masks. P. Delattre sent a photograph of one of them, which represents the head of a woman veiled. This mask has a hole for suspension and preserves traces of bright red color on the lips, ears and head-dress.

A drawing, also sent by P. Delattre, represents a curious object in terracotta. It is a hollow cylinder mounted on a round foot; this cylinder is surmounted by seven receptacles in the form of vases, communicating with each other and with the cylinder; it is ornamented with the head of a cow with long horns and the head of Hathor. Egyptian influence is evident; it is sufficient to consider the form of the vases and the religious attributes which accompany them to be convinced of it. This object appears to have served as a standing lamp; without doubt the seven receptacles were intended to contain oil. One may compare this little monument with some similar objects found at Eleusis in 1885, with black-figured vases going back to the VI cent. B. C. (cf. *Ephem. archæolog.*, 1885, pl. 9). The tombs explored at Carthage by P. Delattre are also of this period. Two of the terracotta monuments discovered at Eleusis bear as many as forty or fifty such receptacles.

*August 9.*—M. Héron de Villefosse presented three photographs representing different views of an ivory statuette, found by P. Delattre, in the month of July last, among his excavations at Carthage. This statuette (13 cm. high) is intact, and was sculptured from a cylinder of ivory which has almost completely preserved its form. It represents a woman with an Egyptian head-dress and clothed in a long robe; the neck is decorated with a collar; the arms are stiff and joined to the body; the hands, joined together upon the chest, sustain the breasts, which are scarcely indicated. Upon the rest of the cylinder, which forms the robe, the artist has chiselled three long checkered bands which fall, one at the back, the two others at the sides of the statuette. Above these bands, around the loins passes a girdle, the two ends of which crossed hang in front, opening to the right and left. The lower edge of the robe is adorned with a fringe, the feet are not indicated. The manner in which this goddess is attired furnishes one of the rare examples of the Carthaginian costume. It offers also certain analogies to the statuette of the Louvre, cited by M. Perrot in his volume on Cyprus and Phœnicia. The ivory cylinder is hollow; the lower edge is pierced with four small holes which appear to have served for attaching the statuette to a piece of wood. This figurine probably formed the handle of a mirror. In fact, there was found in the same tomb a bronze mirror and various ornaments: a gold pendant in the form of an anserated cross, a seal-ring, three silver rings, and the remains of a bracelet ornamented with the sacred scarab and with palmettes.

**JEWISH NECROPOLIS NEAR CARTHAGE.**—On Mount Gamart, north of Carthage, there is an ancient necropolis which was formerly supposed to be Carthaginian. P. Delattre who, several years ago, determined

conclusively that it belonged to the Jewish colony which was established in the capital of Africa under the Roman empire, has recently studied it in detail (*Gamart ou la nécropole juive de Carthage*. Lyon, 1895, in-8°, 51 pages). The number of vaults in the necropolis are about two hundred. These vaults, dug in the limestone, recall exactly the tombs of Palestine. The entrance, very simple and only 90 cent. wide, was closed either by a flag-stone, or by unhewn stones. The chambers, of rectangular shape, have their walls perforated with niches in the form of ovens, in which were placed the bodies; in each chamber there are fifteen to seventeen niches, rarely more. A coating of white stucco often covers the walls and the ceiling. Below the niches can still be distinguished some Latin inscriptions, painted in red or drawn with a point, with the name of the dead and a formula such as *in pace*, and sometimes the seven-branch candlestick (*conf. CIL*, pp. 1375-76). Several vaults are decorated with paintings: foliage, vines, winged genii, a head which looks like the portrait of one of the defunct, figures gathering grapes, a horseman, etc. The ornamentation and the distribution of the subjects offer analogies with other sepulchral paintings, especially those of the Via Latina. No furniture accompanied the dead.—*MAH*, 1895, p. 329.

**EARLY CHRISTIAN SUBTERRANEAN CHAPEL.**—At a sitting (May 1, 1895) of the *SAF*, M. Héron de Villefosse communicated, on the part of P. DELATTRE, a drawing and a photograph relating to this interesting discovery made at Carthage. P. Delattre writes: "While digging a trench at the south-southeast side of the hill of Saint-Louis, we came upon a subterranean chapel. At the end of a corridor, on the walls of which were traces of *graffiti*, we penetrated into a chamber with a groined vault, 5.50 m. wide and 3.80 m. deep. Facing the entrance, the wall was decorated with a fresco which in every respect recalled the paintings in the catacombs. It was much injured. The principal personage represented is a saint: the head is nimbed; the right hand is in the attitude of benediction. At the left of the saint, who occupies the middle of the picture, we see portions of another personage, of whom the head and the lower part of the body have disappeared. On the side there are traces of two secondary personages, one of whom seems to be an angel. At the end of the picture there is a palm. The picture, then, is composed of three principal personages and two accessory figures, doubtless representing one of the faithful and an angel. The fresco appears to be Roman rather than Byzantine. Perhaps we have here a representation of Saint Cyprian." M. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE added some observations, recalling various representations of St. Cyprian, in some of which he is represented without a beard and in others with. Nevertheless, he

was inclined to see in the central figure an image of Christ. He recognizes in it rather a rude type of the Christ, often met with in Africa, notably on a sarcophagus from Lambèse.

The discovery of P. Delattre is full of interest. He has brought to light one of those sepulchral chapels the existence of which at Carthage is mentioned from the third century. St. Cyprian was buried in a chapel of this kind, in *area Macrobiani Candidi procuratoris*. Others existed all along the African coast. At the beginning of this century, the French traveller Pacho signalized many subterranean chapels at Cyrene decorated with Christian paintings. One of these represented the Good Shepherd between two trees, in the midst of the sheep and surrounded by seven fish. More recently M. C. Wescher discovered at Alexandria a Christian catacomb, decorated with paintings: on the vault was represented Christ nimbed, surrounded by other personages whose names were indicated (published in *BAC*, 1865). It is very evident that the discovery of P. Delattre is connected with a group of facts most interesting for the history of the church.

**MDEINA.—ROMAN VILLA.**—At the October 10 sitting of the *AIBL*, M. GAUCKLER announced the recent discovery at Mdeina of a Roman villa similar to that of Oudna, which he proposes to describe later on to the *Académie*. He presented the photographs which he had taken in the course of the work, and the maps and watercolors executed under his direction by M. M. Sadoux.—*RA*, Dec. '95, p. 373.

**ODUNA=OUTHINA.**—M. GAUCKLER presented to the *Académie des Inscriptions* (Oct. 10, '95) the results of the excavations made during the last two years at Oudna, the ancient Outhina. The object of these researches was the general condition of Roman-home life in Africa in the first centuries of our era. They have led to the discovery of a large villa belonging to two rich proprietors. This construction has been entirely uncovered with the adjoining buildings and baths connected with it. Fifteen other private houses have been partially excavated in the same quarter, apparently inhabited by the aristocracy of Outhina. None is later than the time of Constantine, the most ancient date from the Antonines. They are all constructed on about the same plan and are luxuriously decorated. Two white marble statues, many mural paintings, numerous fragments of architecture and sculpture, pottery, coins and jewels have been acquired for the museum of the Bardo. These villas of Oudna are particularly distinguished by the richness and beauty of the mosaics with figured subjects with which they are entirely paved. Eighty-seven mosaics with figured subjects were discovered. They represented the entire series of subjects habitually treated by African mosaicists: Mythological scenes, such as the rape of Europa, Endymion, Dionysos giving

the vine to Ikaros, Orpheus charming the animals; representations of divinities: Bacchus and his troop, Venus and her group of Amorini, Diana the huntress, Minerva, Apollo, Helios, Ceres, Hercules; above all, the divinities of the sea, Neptune armed with his trident, standing on a car or seated on a marine monster, Amphitrite, Oceanus, the Nereids, the Sirens; familiar and rustic scenes taken from daily life; every variety of hunting and fishing scenes; collections of animals and plants. The study of these mosaics in themselves and in their connection with analogous pavements has enabled M. Gauckler to establish the law of evolution which Roman mosaic in Africa has followed during the first centuries of the Christian era. The various periods through which it passed may be thus characterized: (1) period of full bloom in the times of the Antonini and Severini; (2) period of transition from the middle of the third century to the accession of Constantine; (3) Christian period which begins with the Constantinian Renaissance. The greater part of the mosaics of Oudna belong to the first period, and, for their artistic value, take the first rank among those which have been discovered in Africa.—*RA*, Dec. '95; *Cf. AJA*, ix, pp. 271-2; x, p. 76.

**TUNIS.**—Concerning the pottery-workshops of the Punic epoch discovered by Dr. Carton at the Belvedere near Tunis, see the *Revue Archéologique*, 1894, II, pp. 180-195.—S. GSELL, in *MAH*, Oct., '95, p. 311.

#### ALGERIA.

**ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNEY OF M. LEROY.**—Doctor Hamy presented to the *AIBL* of Jan. 10, '96, the journal and the photographs of M. LEROY giving a *résumé* of an archaeological journey which he made between *El-Alia* and *Biskra* by way of the *Oued Itel* and the *Djellai*. M. Leroy, who had accompanied M. Foureau as far as *El-Alia*, entered by a very unfrequented road so as to verify the reports gathered among the Nomads with regard to the ancient remains of constructions which were to be met with, it was said, on the plateau between the *Itel* and the *Djedi*. The traveler discovered, at the sources of the *Oued-Itel*, the remains of a Roman citadel which defended the passage between the two valleys of the *Itel* and the *Djedi*. He also found in the same region vestiges of an ancient Berber city indicated in the Arab legends by the name of *Rammadal-el-Kommadi*, with tombs reproducing on a small scale the *Medraçen* and sepulchral chambers in stone comparable to those of which Duveyrier previously gave a drawing. Further to the North, between *Douzène* and *Biskra*, new observations complete what was already known of the Roman occupation of the shores of the *Djedi*.—*RC*, Jan. 31, '96.

**NUMIDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.**—The Berlin Academy has published a supplement to the Numidian inscriptions, being a sequel to that of the



Preconsular inscriptions, published in 1891 under the editorship of MM. Schmidt and Cagnat. M. Schmidt, who died in 1894, has been replaced by M. H. Dessau. This supplement, which includes the discoveries of the last fourteen years, contains 2622 numbers, many of which are previously-published inscriptions now revised and corrected.—*MAH*, 1895, p. 314.

**ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS ON ALGERIA AND TUNISIA.**—Of the publications on the *Musées et collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, there have already appeared: the *Musée d'Alger* (1890), by M. Doublet; the *Musée de Constantine* (1892), by MM. Doublet and Gauckler; the *Musée d'Oran* (1893), by M. de la Blanchère; and the *Musée de Lambèse* (1895) by M. Cagnat. One of the most precious volumes, on account of the value of the works of art and the richness of the documents, is the *Musée de Cherchel*, which M. Gauckler published in 1895. Other catalogues are in preparation: *Philippeville*, *Tebessa*, *Tlemcen*, etc.—*RA*, 1895, Oct., p. 198.

**CHERCHEL** = IOL (PHENICIAN) = CÆSAREA (ROMAN).—EXCAVATIONS OF 1895.—The excavations of M. Waille and Captain Lordes at Cherchel have brought to light some halls lined with marble and ornamented with paintings, which represent flowers, shrubbery, in the midst of which the birds flutter, various figures and animals combined with arabesques (*CRA Inscriptions*, 1894, pp. 289-92). An important find is that of a beautiful marble head, the hair encircled by a royal fillet and the beard being coquettishly arranged in little curls. M. Waille, who recognized in this head a portrait of King Juba I, sent it to the Louvre. To the west of the city, a small Christian church has been uncovered.—*MAH*, 1895, p. 343.

At the July 26 sitting of the *AIBL*, M. VICTOR WAILLE, professor at the *École des lettres* at Algiers, presented seventeen photographs and drawings summing up the results obtained at Cherchel during the year 1895 from the excavations which he is carrying on there under the patronage of the *Comité des travaux historiques*, with the collaboration of Captain Lordes and Lieutenant Perrin. Besides the uncovering of a basilica, they discovered a statuette of Diana, a colossal statue of an orator, the head of a king, a female head belonging to the first century, several draped female statues, some terracotta sculptures, a Christian plate, some African coins, two engraved cornelians, a large glass cameo representing Hercules helmeted with a lion-skin, a silver vase, a gold ring, about sixty objects in bronze, two brilliant mosaics representing (1) maritime subjects (hippocamp, lobster, star-fish, sea-eel, fish, etc.), (2) two fronting peacocks separated by a vase, etc.—*RA*, Oct. '95.

**MUSEUM OF CHERCHEL.**—M. PAUL MONCEAUX (in *RA*, 1895, Oct.)

gives an interesting sketch of this museum, founded on Paul Gauckler's *Musée de Cherchel*. Cherchel possesses a great number of objects precious in themselves to the artist as well as to the archaeologist. What increases their value to the historian of art is the fact that they all come from the city itself or its environs. It is entirely a local museum: numberless fragments of architecture, often very beautiful, mosaics, bronzes, ossuaries of lead, pottery, basreliefs, above all, inscriptions, and more than fifty statues. For four or five centuries, first under the Moorish Kings, and then under the Roman dominion, Caesarea was the capital of an immense region. All the civilizations which succeeded each other in this region are represented at the Museum of Cherchel. A statue of Thothmes I attests the ancient relations of the city with Egypt. A Lybian inscription recalls to us that the *comptoir* of Iol was established in the Berber country. A votive stele to Baal-Hammon, ornamented with basreliefs, and a neo-Punic inscription, date from the period of the Carthaginian dominion. Interesting Arab texts come from the mussulman middle-age at Cherchel. But the collection is especially rich in Greek and Roman monuments. Among the latter are more than four hundred epigraphic monuments. Roman architecture is represented by numerous fragments, generally of good workmanship: archaeology by sepulchral or votive steles, elegant in style and often decorated with basreliefs, by ossuaries and by statues of gods, princes, women or priests, of unequal value and mostly dating from the time of the Severi. But the originality of this museum consists in the preponderance in it of Greek art. We have found an explanation for this in the personal taste and the persistent interest of Juba II, that Hellenistic King who was the real founder of Caesarea, and who was always in direct relations with the Orient and loved to surround himself with Hellenes. The question arises, By whom were executed the numerous copies of Greek originals? The most beautiful were probably done in the studios of the Orient. Others in the workshops of Caesarea, from replicas in marble, bronze, or terracotta. One sees from the works reproduced that Juba II endeavored to introduce into Caesarea the grand art of Greece, that of the fifth cent. Under the Roman dominion the artists of Cherchel turned towards a less severe form of art, and sought for their models in the school of Praxiteles. But during many centuries something survived of the tradition created by Juba II, which explains the intrinsic beauty of the fragments of architecture, even from Roman edifices. One seeks in vain for their equivalents among the other ruins of Algeria.

**COLLO.—PUNIC NECROPOLIS.**—At a sitting of the *AIBL* (Dec. 20, '95), M. Berger presented a detailed report from CAPTAIN HÉLO on the excavations at Collo in 1893 and 1894. Collo is a small port on the



African coast of the province Constantine. For a long time some grottoes cut in the rock, which formerly served as a refuge for pirates, have been noticed in the cliff which extends along the sea. After examining these chambers, M. Hélo was convinced that they were tombs, and he determined to explore the hill which borders the sea. He discovered there a whole Punic necropolis, the most ancient tombs of which date back to the end of the Punic period; the others are of the Numidian epoch. These tombs, all cut in the slope of the mountain, are composed of a small chamber preceded by an entrance which is connected with the chamber by a corridor. On both sides of each chamber extend two parallel benches. The interior of the tombs was in a state of confusion and full of earth and sand; still M. Hélo was able to extract a quantity of pottery, various objects of bronze, some bent nails with large heads, and some statuettes of Egyptian style; the bones for the most part are not calcined. By the side of these sepulchres, M. Hélo found a large number of others, much more rudimentary, composed of an amphora full of bones covered over by large bricks which formed the lid. These were doubtless the sepulchres of the poor people. The bones found in these amphorae present the same peculiarities as those in the tombs; most of them have not been burned. The vases discovered by M. Hélo merit special mention. Several among them are anthropoid vases with a head, arms and breast, quite analogous to the potteries of Rhodes. Until the last discoveries of P. Delattre, only two of these have been found in Africa: they are preserved in the Museum of Constantine and doubtless came from Collo. On a large number of these potteries M. Hélo found Punic marks engraved with the burin and of which he was given very exact reproductions. The characters are of a good epoch, anterior to the use of the neo-Punic. The report of M. Hélo, as well as his excavations, are made with great care. He has devoted a special paragraph to each tomb, and has added photographs, drawings, sections and plans which allow one to form a very exact idea of this necropolis—*RC*, 1896, No. 1.

**SAÏDA.**—PREHISTORIC REMAINS.—Near Saïda, MM. DOUMERGUE and POIRIER (*Bull. trimestriel de géog. et d'arch. d'Oran*, 1894, pp. 105-127) have excavated a natural grotto consisting of a chamber measuring four metres each way, with a smaller one attached to it, out of which opens a wide passage. They found, inside, a number of flints, which mostly resemble the European types. Also in a confused medley were found points and scrapers, implements, blades, gravers, drills of small dimensions, and less primitive work; some arrow-points finely worked, and two small hatchets. Together with the flints were several objects of bone; numerous fragments of pottery

having bands or borders in relief or engraved lines forming very simple geometric designs, and many other objects. It is interesting to note that a portion of the objects found in this grotto and in other grottoes in the vicinity of Oran (flints, implements in polished bone, pottery) are met within Spain with the same forms and the same ornamentation (see Siret, *Asso. française pour l'avancement des sciences*, Oran, I, 1888, pp. 206-7).—*MAH*, 1895, pp. 303-4.

**SATAFIS.**—RECENT EXCAVATIONS.—The Roman site of Satafis in Mauritania is fairly well known. It is twenty-four kilometres north of Setif on the modern site of Ain-Kebira or Perigotville. The earliest inscription that is dated pertains to the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and it became a *municipium* in the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. At this time was erected the large structure of which parts still remain. Inscriptions make known to us a number of temples, aqueducts, and baths. There are also Christian inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries. The construction of the modern French village has led to the disappearance of almost all the ruins, and the one building of which a conspicuous part remains is the early Christian Basilica, consisting of the nave and two aisles divided by groups of two columns forming double colonnades, and a single semicircular apse. The walls were originally decorated with frescoes, and the church was preceded by a simple square atrium without columns. In an article by Gsell, is given a discussion of the existing remains, and a certain number of inscriptions are published. A local museum was established upon the site in which more than fifty inscriptions, some sculptures, and many fragments of architecture have been collected. Most of these inscriptions have been already either partially or entirely published. A few relate to monuments, but the greater part are sepulchral.

**THAMALLA.**—RECENT EXCAVATIONS.—The new village of Tocqueville is thirteen kilometres from the station of Tixter; not far from Setif. There was here an ancient city which appears to have had the name of Thamalla, and in the Byzantine period a great fortress was established here to guard the route of Hodna. Here also the construction of modern buildings has been fatal to the ruins. However, the present administrator of the village has gathered with great care the ancient monuments of interest and has placed them in the court of the school. Gsell publishes in the above article a number of inscriptions thus preserved which are sepulchral in character. North-east of the Byzantine fort are three inscribed mile-stones, one of them dated 219.—*MAH*, June, 1895.

**TICZIRT.**—THE BASILICA OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.—(See *AJA*, x, 77). The altar, surmounted by a ciborium, is in the apse, which has a

sacristy on each side; on the left of the basilica stood the baptistery, in the form of a trefoil, with round fonts. The architecture of this church, which dates from the fifth century, is very curious, with its overloaded decoration, its consoles placed over the columns and covered with ornaments or bas-reliefs, its lateral galleries which are reached by an external staircase, *etc.* All the elements of a definite restoration, have been found, and when the monograph of M. Gavault [the architect who has superintended the excavations] shall have appeared, the basilica of Tigzirt will certainly take rank as one of the best-known monuments of primitive Christian architecture (see some indications on the general results of the excavations in the *CRA Inscriptiōna*, 1894, pp. 293-295).—*MAH*, 1895, p. 342.

**TIMGAD.**—It is well known that there have been fine excavations carried on at Timgad by the *Service des Monuments historiques* with the very liberal help of the State. MM. Boeswillwald and Cagnat began in 1891 the publication of a great work (*Timgad, une cité africaine sous l'empire romain*, Paris, Leroux, in-4°), which is intended to give a complete description of this city. The third instalment of this work appeared in 1894 and is devoted to the forum; we are given successively the basilica, the curia, the neighboring temple before which stood the rostra, the honorary bases set up on the square itself: both text and plates are excellent. In 1894 the excavations were carried on principally in the *thermae*, where were discovered mosaic-pavements and polychromatic statues of Hygæa, Mercury, and Nymphs. The clearing away of the Capitol has been continued. In some private houses in front of this edifice, quite a large number of small objects were found, pagan and Christian lamps, weights, *etc.* The principal Christian basilica has been entirely uncovered (Ballu, *Rapport au ministre de l'Instruction publique*, in the *Journal officiel* of May 1, 1895).—*MAH*, 1895, pp. 336-37.

**AGE OF UNCIAL LETTERING IN INSCRIPTIONS.**—At a sitting of the *SAF* (Feb. 13, '95), M. Cagnat made the following communication: M. CHATELAIN, in the pamphlet devoted to the *Moissonneur* inscription which was in uncial letters, makes the following statement: 'In order to determine the date of the uncial lettering, the epigraphists are waiting to receive from the paleographers the enlightenment which the latter claim from the epigraphists.' A recent discovery made at Timgad, in the course of the last campaign of excavation, henceforth enables epigraphy to bring a precise and dated document to the solution of the question. Some time ago was published a text from an honorary base erected on the forum of Timgad to a person by the name of Fl. Pomponianus (*CIL*, VIII, 17910). The entire inscription is written in uncial letters: "*Vocontio, P. Fl(arvio) Pudenti Pomponiano,*

*c(larissimo) v(iro), erga civeis patriamque prolixè cultori, exercitiis militari-bus effecto, multifariam loquentes litteras ampliandi, Atticam facundiam adaequantì romano nitori, ordo incola fontis patrono oris uberis et fluentis nostro, alteri fonti.* This Fl. Pomponianus, as is proved by the text, was both a man of action and a man of letters. M. Bücheler has identified him with the grammarian of the same name (*Rhein. Museum*, XLII, p. 473) cited by Julius Romanus; and has inferred from the text of Charisius, who mentions him (p. 145. 29), that he was a contemporary of Julius Romanus. The latter having lived, it is thought, during the first half of the III century, we ought to assign the same period to Flavius Pomponianus.

Last summer, while clearing out the baths of Timgad, there was found a votive inscription dedicated by the person in question and written in uncial letters. In this inscription we read the enumeration of all his dignities, and from the mention of one of them, the *præfectus frumenti dandi*, as well as from several other indications, we are enabled to place Fl. Pomponianus at a period of transition contemporary with the emperors Elagabalus and Septimius-Severus, that is in the first half of the III century. We must therefore date back to the reign of Alexander-Severus the use of the uncial lettering in inscriptions, at least in Africa.

## ASIA.

### PERSIA.

AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE FOR EXCLUSIVE EXCAVATION.—M. PAUL DELOMBRE's report (Dec. 21) on the *crédits supplémentaires* asked for by the French Government includes an item of 50,000 francs to pay for the exclusive privilege of making archaeological diggings in Persia. Delombre gives the hitherto unpublished text of the agreement which has been made between the French Government and the Shah. The chief points in this agreement are these: on account of the scientific eminence of the French, and the friendly relations which for so long a time have happily existed between Iran and France, the Persian Government grants to the French the exclusive privilege of making diggings throughout the whole extent of the empire. All sacred places, like mosques and cemeteries, however, are to be exempt from disturbance: and the French excavating parties are held to respect the habits and customs of the country, and to do nothing to vex them. All expenses of whatsoever sort are to be at the charge of the Government of the Republic. If valuable objects in gold or silver are found, or if any jewels, these are to be the private property of the Persian Government; yet, in consideration of the cost and trouble of the dig-

gings, one-half of such objects will be yielded to the French at a fair price; and, whenever the rest shall be sold, if ever, the French shall be given the first chance to purchase it. As to works of sculpture of all sorts, and inscriptions, they are to be divided evenly between the two Governments, but the French delegates are to have the right of making sketches or models of whatever may be found. Finally, "in recognition of the preference which the Persian Government accords to it, the Government of the Republic will make to his Majesty the Shah a present of 10,000 francs."—*N. Y. Nation*, Jan. 23, '96.

**EKBATANA.**—TRILINGUAL INSCRIPTIONS.—At the *AIBL*, of March 13, '96, M. OPPERT explained a text of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia (405–360). They are two fragments belonging to two identical trilingual texts; one of the fragments contained the beginning of the lines of the Persian text and a small part of the end of the lines of the Assyrian text; the other comprised several words of Median translation and the commencement of the lines of the Assyrian text. According to appearances, M. Dieulafoy is right in thinking that this monument comes from Ekbatana. It would come then from the *apadana* or the hall of the columns of Ekbatana, capital of Media, and this would be the only text from this city which has come down to us. Excavations there are impracticable because the new capital, Hamadan, is situated on the same spot as the primitive city.—*RC*, '96, No. 12.

### BABYLONIA.

**RELATIONS BETWEEN ELAM AND BABYLONIA.**—A pamphlet entitled *Aus der babylonischen Altertumskunde*, by Prof. HOMMEL, is brimful of new facts and suggestions in regard to early Babylonian history. It will be a surprise to many to learn that 6000 years ago Babylonia was already engaged in active trade with Arabia, Syria and the highlands of Kurdistan. Perhaps one of the most interesting facts brought to light by the Professor is that Ine-Sin, who was king of Ur about B. C. 2500, or earlier, and in whose reign portions of the great Babylonian work on astronomy were compiled, subdued both Kimas, or Central Arabia, and Zemar in Phœnicia (see *Gen.* x. 18), while his daughter was *patesi* or high-priestess of Anzan in Elam and Markhaskhi in northern Syria, where the Hittites were already astir. Still more interesting is the remarkable discovery made by Mr. PINCHES of a tablet recording the war waged by Khammurabi of Babylon (B. C. 2250) against Eri-Aku, or Arioch, of Larsa, and his Elamite allies, which ended in the rise of a united monarchy in Babylonia, with Babylon as its capital. Among the opponents of Khammurabi mention is made of Kudur-lagamar the Elamite, Eri-Aku, and Tudkhal,

the Tidal of the Book of *Genesis*.—A. H. SAYCE, in *Academy*, Sept. 7, '95.

Dr. FRITZ HOMMEL communicates (in *SBA*, vol. xvii, p. 199) a note on an Aramaic inscription of a Perso-Aramaic cylinder published by Scheil (*Notes d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie assyriennes*) consisting of the words: לְעִלְנַסְחִכְלִי. Professor Hommel says: "Who would not think here of the Cossean town *Bit-Kilamsah*, well known from the inscriptions of Sennacherib? Kilam-sah seems to be the founder of this town, and the name is composed of an element *Kilam*, *ghilam* (עִלְמ, which before the dental sibilant becomes עִלְנ, *ghilan*), with which may be compared *ulam*-, in *Ulamurias*, etc., and the name of the Elamite god *Sah*, or the *Sungod*. I therefore translate: 'to Ghilan-sah, my King.' The mere fact that we here find a Cossean [or Kassite] king with a name of pure Cossean-Elamite origin in the Persian time, is of the highest historical value."

Dr. HOMMEL, in a note in *SBA*, vol. xviii, p. 23, says: "In the Elamite proper name *Ma-uk-ti-ti* we have evidently the same deity as in the well-known name *Kudur-Mabuk*. *Mabuk* and *Ma'uk* are only variants of spelling. Since the Babylonian goddess *Ba'u* is also written *Babu*, I think we should probably see in *Mabuk* this same name, but in an Elamiticized form. Mr. PINCHES found a tablet with all the names of the kings of *Genesis* xiv (see the still unpublished 'Acts of the Geneva Congress'), viz., *Hammu-rabi*, *Kudur-Dugmal*, and *Tudhul*; the form כִּדּוּר־לָגָמָר in *Genesis* iv goes back to an older *Kudur-Lagamar*. Now, *Lagamar* was an Elamitic goddess, and I think it not impossible to see in *Kudur-Mabuk* a half-Semitized form of *Kudur-Lagamar*."

THE AMORITES IN BABYLONIA.—Mr. PINCHES' latest discovery is a highly interesting one, and throws fresh light on the intimate relations that existed between Babylonia and Syria in the age of Abraham. Prof. Hommel may yet prove right in his suggestion that the defeat of Chedorlaomer and his allies by the Hebrew patriarch was the ultimate cause of Khammurabi's success in overthrowing Eri-Aku or Arioch, and the Elamite supremacy over Babylonia, and in establishing a united and independent Babylonian kingdom. At any rate we now know that in the time of Khammurabi and his dynasty Babylonia claimed sovereignty over Syria, and that Syrian colonists were settled in Babylonia. The "land of the Amorites," properly speaking, was that portion of Syria which lay immediately to the north of the future Palestine, but the name was used by the Babylonians to denote all Syria as far south as the southern borders of Canaan. A passage in a contract-tablet dated in the reign of Sinmuballidh, the father of Khammurabi, which has been published by Dr. Scheil in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (xvii, p. 33), tells us where the "Amorite



district" discovered by Mr. Pinches actually was. It was just outside the gate of Sippara, now called Abu-Habba.

There was consequently an Amorite or Syrian settlement in Babylonia, similar to the foreign settlements in Egypt and other countries of the ancient Oriental world. A *stela* lately found on the site of Memphis, and now in the Gizeh Museum, describes a Hittite settlement as existing in what was known as the Hittite district just outside the walls of Memphis in the fourth year of the reign of King Ai (at the end of the XVIII dynasty); and in the time of Herodotos there was a "Tyrian camp" on the south side of the same city and outside the walls of the temple of Ptah (Hdt. ii. 112). So, too, we read in *I Kings*, xx. 34 that the kings of Israel and Syria severally "made streets" for their subjects in Damascus and Samaria.

Mr. Pinches points out that Amorites were able to hold official posts in Babylonia. Similarly, foreigners rose to high offices of state in Egypt; and a contract for the sale of three slaves, drawn up at Nineveh in 709 B. C., only thirteen years after the fall of Samaria, is witnessed by two Israelites, Pekah and Nadab-Yahu, who are described as Assyrian officials.—A. H. SAYCE, in *Acad.*, Nov. 23, '95.

**INSCRIPTION OF NABONIDOS (555-538 B. C.) DISCOVERED AT BABYLON.**—A discovery of the greatest importance has just been made by Father Scheil, who has for some time been exploring in Babylonia. In the Mujelibeh mound, one of the principal heaps of ruins in the *enciente* of Babylon, he has discovered a long inscription of Nabonidos, the last of the Babylonians Kings (B. C. 555-538), which contains a mass of historical and other data which will be of greatest value to students of this important period of Babylonian history. The monument in question is a small *stela* of diorite, the upper part of which is broken, inscribed with eleven columns of writing, and which appears to have been erected early in the King's reign. It resembles in some measure the celebrated India-House inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, but is much more full of historical matter. Its value may be estimated when it is stated that it contains a record of the war of revenge conducted by the Babylonians and their Mandian allies against Assyria, for the destruction of the city by Sennacherib, in B. C. 698; an account of the election and coronation of Nabonidos in B. C. 555, and the wonderful dream in which Nebuchadnezzar appeared to him; as well as an account of the restoration of the temple of the Moon god at Khar-ran, accompanied by a chronological record which enables us to fix the date of the so-called Scythian invasion. There is also a valuable reference to the murder of Sennacherib by his son in Tebet, B. C. 681.

The inscription opens with a very graphic recital of the terrible sack of the holy city of Babylon in B. C. 698: "Over all this land an

evil curse from his heart he uttered; mercy he showed not; to Babylon he came, he desecrated the temples, poured out the dust, erased the sculptures, and broke off the services." Still more important is the statement that he "took the hand of the Prince Merodach and caused him to enter into the midst of the city of Assur," where, we are told, he "established his seat for twenty-one years." After that time he returned, as the inscription says, "The King of Assyria, who by the power of Merodach the overthrow of the land had accomplished, the son the offspring of his body with the sword thrust him through." The return of the statue of the god to its temple in Babylon was probably the work of Esarhaddon, who in B. C. 677 was doing all he could to conciliate the Babylonians. The murder of Sennacherib seems to have caused great satisfaction in Chaldea, for it is mentioned also in the Babylonian chronicle. The second column contains an account of the terrible revenge exacted by the Babylonians some years after, when, assisted by the King of the Urmanda, or so-called Medes, the Barbarians, they ravaged the whole of the south of Assyria. It is unfortunate that the name of the Babylonian King who had for his ally Tukte the Mandian is lost, but it was probably Nabupalassar. This seems confirmed by a statement in another portion of the inscription, where we are told that fifty-four years prior to commencement of the reign of Nabonidos, in B. C. 555, the Urmanda, or Barbarians, had destroyed the temple of the Moon god at Harran; that would be, therefore, in B. C. 609. There is no reference to Nineveh, the campaign being confined to Assur and South Assyria, and it seems evident that this inscription does not describe the destruction of Nineveh.—*London Times*.

A. H. SAYCE, commenting upon this inscription in the *Academy* (Sept. 7, '95), says: In the *Comptes-rendus* of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, which have just appeared, Dr. Scheil publishes the transliterated text of the inscription of Nabonidos. Nabonidos claims to be the true successor and representative (*naspar*) of Nebuchadrezzar and Nergal-sharezer, whose sons Evil-Merodach and Labasi-Marduk (Laborosoarchod) violated the commands of heaven, and were consequently rejected by Bel. Of Labasi-Marduk it is said that he was "a child" who "ascended the throne contrary to the wish of the gods." The name of Assyria is expressed by a compound ideograph hitherto unknown—SU-GA-BUR (or Rugga-bur, "the summit of the rock?").

Dr. Scheil believes that, in the account of the punishment inflicted upon Assyria, we have for the first time a native description of the overthrow of Nineveh. I do not feel sure, however, that he is right. At all events, his view is based on an erroneous translation of the thirteenth line of the second column, where he has turned the verb *iriba* ("he descended") into part of the name of the king of the Manda,



or Nomads. The name of the king, however, is Tuktê, which is evidently the same as that of Tukdammê, king of the Manda, and the antagonist of Assur-bani-pal, which has been discovered by Prof. Strong.

The passage relating to the punishment of Assyria is as follows: " . . . He gave him an ally, he granted him a comrade; the king of the people of the Manda, who had no rival, he subjected to his command, he caused him to march to his aid; above and below, to the right and to the left, like a flood he ravaged; avenging Babylon, Tuktê, the king of the people of the Manda, descended fearlessly; he destroyed the temples of Assyria, all of them; and the cities on the frontier of Babylonia which were hostile to the King of Babylonia and went not to his help did he destroy, and none of their shrines did he spare; he devastated their towns. The King of Babylon fulfilled like a deluge the command of Merodach."

Light is thrown upon this account by the mutilated inscription of Assur-bani-pal, published by Prof. Strong in the *Journal Asiatique* (9th Ser., vol. II), in which reference is made to the overthrow of "Tukdammê, king of the people of the Manda, that limb of Satan" (*tabnit Tiamat*). I have already identified Tukdammê, or Tugdammê, with the Lygdamis of Strabo (I. 3, 16), who states that he made his way into Lydia with a horde of Kimmerians, who captured Sardes, though he himself remained in Kilikia, where he lost his life. We know from the inscriptions of Esar-haddon that the Kimmerians were called Manda by the Assyrians, Teuspa or Teispes, the Kimmerian prince, being said to be of "the people of the Manda." Assur-bani-pal further asserts that he had defeated the forces of Sanda-ksatru, the son of Tugdammê, who had been appointed to his father's "couch," or throne. The second element in the name of Sanda-ksatru is that which we have in the Persian Arta-xerxes, while Sanda is the Kilikian god Sandon. The inscription of Assur-bani-pal is addressed to Merodach, "the king of Babylon, the lord of E-Sagila," and belongs to the latter part of his reign, when the Babylonian rebellion had been crushed, and he was king of Babylonia as well as of Assyria. Unless, therefore, we suppose that the son and successor of Sanda-ksatru bore the same name as his father, it would seem that the invasion of Assyria described by Nabonidos was that referred to by Assur-bani-pal, and corresponded to the first siege of Nineveh by the Medes spoken of by Herodotos. At all events, Dr. Scheil's view cannot be made to harmonise with the Greek accounts, which all agree in making Kyaxares the destroyer of Nineveh.

Whether or not the Kyaxares of the Greeks is to be identified with Kastarit of Kar-Kassi, as I used to think, is problematical. The publication by Knudtzon (*Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*) of the num-

erous texts which relate to the same struggles as those in which Kastarit is mentioned, has convinced me that they all belong to the reigns of the well-known Esar-haddon and his son Assur-bani-pal, and not to that of a later Esar-haddon, as Schrader, Amiaud, and I formerly believed. It is again Prof. Strong whose publications have thrown light upon the political situation presupposed in the texts. One of the oracles given to Esar-haddon, published by Prof. Strong in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* (II. 1893), begins with the words, "The Kimmerian in the mountains has set fire in the land of Ellip." Ellip was the country in which Ekbatana was subsequently founded, and we see, therefore, that already in the time of Esar-haddon it was being occupied by the Kimmerian or "Manda" hordes.

**ANCIENT BABYLONIAN TOWNS.**—Dr. FRITZ HOMMEL writes (in *SBA*, vol. XVII, p. 206): "(1) We find in an inscription of Ur-Ghanna, published by E. de Sarzec (*Revue d'Assr.* II, 4, p. 147), col. 37: *the town A-idinna he has built*. Since *a-idinna* (*water for the desert*) is explained by the Assyrian lexicographical tables with the Shemitic word *nādu* (*leather bag*), I read the name of this town simply *Nādu*, the Hebrew נָדוּ of *Genesis*, IV. 16: *Cain dwelt in the land of Nod, in the east of (or better before) Eden (Idinna?)*. I think it not impossible, too, that the writing of Agadi (Akkad) is only a variant of an older *A-ga-di(-ki)*, which so much resembles the above-given *A-idinna* or *Nādu* of the South-Babylonian inscriptions.

"(2) In *Genesis* IV. 17, we read the name of another town, *Khanôk*, as built by Cain for his son *Khanôk*. If I am right in reading the old ideograph of *Ninu'a* as *Ghanna-ki*, it seems very plausible to identify this name with the Biblical town in *Genesis* IV."

**EUPHRATEAN STELLAR RESEARCHES.**—In a paper entitled *Remarks on the Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, published in *SBA*, 1890, it was shown that the lunar zodiac (that is, the mapping out of a number of asterisms or single stars in or near the ecliptic, as a means of observing the monthly course of the moon) existed in the Euphrates Valley at a very early period. The next step in this research is to show the relation between the original Euphrates lunar zodiacs and the various ancient lunar zodiacs that have come down to us. Of these we possess at least seven complete specimens—the Persian, Sogdian, Khorasmian, Chinese, Indian, Arab and Coptic schemes. The Babylonian origin of all these schemes is highly probable. This is admitted for the Hindus and Chinese by Professors Weber, Whitney, and Max Müller. The Babylonian origin of the Persian scheme may be based upon the study of the famous Pahlevi work, the *Bundahis* ("Original Creation"). The Sogdian and Khorasmian schemes which have been preserved by Albiruni, who wrote about 1000 A. D., point to the same

origin. The Coptic scheme seems to have been based upon the Egyptian, Greek and Arabic.—R. BROWN, JR, in *SBA*, 1895, p. 284.

**BABYLONIAN MEASURE.**—At the sitting of Sept. 6 of the *AIBL*, M. OPPERT announced that Père Scheil had made the important discovery of a vase, brought to Constantinople from Tello, which is the first example of a class of very rare monuments, that of measures of capacity. It is a small vase bearing the Greek inscription Β ΑΜΑ, "two ama." M. Scheil writes that this little vase contains nearly 2½ *décilitres*. In this case the Greek ἀμά would give the Chaldean pronunciation (which is unknown) of the tenth of the *cab*. The word is not Greek: ἀμή signifies "water-bucket."—*RA*, 1895, p. 368.

**A BABYLONIAN GOD OF BANKERS AND MERCHANTS.**—M. OPPERT made a communication to the *AIBL* (Sept. 6), concerning "a god of bankers and merchants," the Sun-god worshipped in the city of Sippara, on the Euphrates, according to commercial texts of the XII century, that is to say almost contemporaneous with Abraham, published by a young German scholar, M. Meissner.—*RA*, 1895, p. 368.

**ABU-HABBA-SIPPARA.—TURKISH EXCAVATIONS.**—Dr. HILPRECHT writes in the *SST* of Feb. 15: During the years 1888–93, the systematic excavations of Babylonian ruins were exclusively associated with the names of De Sarzec and of the University of Pennsylvania. But in the course of the year 1893 another expedition was born in the Orient itself.

Under Abdul-Hamid, the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople had already been re-established. The famous sarcophagi from Sidon were scarcely safely deposited in the new kiosk especially erected for their permanent exhibition, when the Sultan placed another sum of money out of his private purse at the disposal of his rapidly growing archaeological museum, in order that the ruins of Abu-Habba or Sippara, in northern Babylonia, partly excavated by Rassam, might be subjected to a fresh examination. The ruins of Abu-Habba are most favorably situated for excavation, about halfway between Bagdad and Hillah, and extend in the form of a rectangle, whose longest side is about one and a half kilometres. They are not far distant from the Euphrates, lying on its eastern side. The carrying out of this scientific project was entrusted to the French Dominican Father Scheil, who has distinguished himself as an Assyriologist, and to the Turkish Commissioner Bedry Bey, who had gained a rich experience in connection with the excavations of Pergamon, Tello, Nippur, and of other ancient Ruins in the Ottoman Empire. At the same time the present writer was appointed to complete the organization of the Babylonian section of the imperial Museum, begun by Father Scheil, and to prepare a catalogue of the Babylonian and Assyrian collections. In the beginning of the year 1884, the first

Turkish expedition to Babylonia reached the place of its destination.

According to the notes which Scheil published in various numbers of the French journal edited by Professor Maspero, the excavations have produced the following results: a number of clay vases, among which are several in the form of animals; small clay statues of idols, bronze objects, seal-cylinders, and weights—such objects as are generally found in all Babylonian ruins—besides a few bricks of King Bur-Sin II, Kurigalzu, and Shamash-shumukin, and about five hundred clay tablets, complete or fragmentary. So far as their contents are concerned, most of the tablets are letters and contracts dated in the reign of King Samsuilûna (about 2210 B. C.), the son and successor of Hammurabi, a ruler of the so-called first Babylonian dynasty, whose Arabian origin only recently has been convincingly proved by Professor Hommel of Munich. The majority of the texts of this period, up to this time, were to be found only in the British Museum in London, and in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. In addition to letters and contracts, the collection excavated at Abu-Habba contained some fragments of syllabaries and lists of cuneiform signs, and several incantations and hymns. Only a small fragment of a tablet is of historical interest, as it reveals the name of a new ruler of Sumer and Akkad, IDIN-DAGÂN ("The God Dagan judges"). Apparently this ruler belongs to the second dynasty of Ûr (about 2500 B. C.), which hitherto was known only through Gungunu, Gîmil (or Kât)-Sin, Bur-Sin II, and the most important member of this whole dynasty, Ine-Sin, recently introduced into history again by the present writer.

Most of the letters discovered contain, according to Scheil, only accounts. But, nevertheless, there are many among them which bring before our eyes scenes from the daily life of the ancient Babylonians in such a realistic manner that we may believe that the times have changed but little during the past four thousand years. For example, an official, stationed in a small town, Dûr-Sin, complains, on a clay tablet, to his father, that it is impossible to procure anything fit to eat in the village, and begs him, therefore, to buy with the accompanying piece of money some food, and send it to him. Another letter, addressed to a female by the name of Bibeya, . . . we can scarcely be wrong in regarding as a specimen of an ancient Babylonian love-letter of the time of Abraham. Finally, there may be mentioned a small round tablet of the same period, and from the same ruins, which contains, in the Babylonian style, a passage parallel to *Daniel*, 12: 3: "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament." This tablet contains but three lines, in the ancient sacred Sumerian language of that country: *Sha muntila | ki-namdupšara-ka | laga-gim*

*gena-e*: that is: "Whosoever has distinguished himself at the plate of tablet-writing [that is, at the school or university of the Babylonians] shall [literally "may"] shine as the light."

**WATER-RATE IN ANCIENT SIPPARA.**—A Babylonian text published by T. G. PINCHES in *SBA*, 1895, p. 278, reads as follows: *10 shekels of silver, balance (of)  $\frac{5}{6}$  of a mana (and) 5 shekels of silver | price of the water of the City of the Sun | Sadunu to Ê-para | has paid. Month Sebat, day 1st | accession-year of | Nabonidos, king of Babylon.*

The water-company was none other than the Great Temple of the Sun at Sippara. Apparently the water was paid for by the municipality, for the sum paid by Sadunu was not for the water supplied to an individual, but for that supplied to the "City of the Sun," the name either of the whole or of a part of Sippara.

**TELLO.**—**RÉSUMÉ OF THE FRENCH EXCAVATIONS AT TELLO=LAGASH=SHIRPURLA.**—DR. HERMAN V. HILPRECHT writes to the *SST*, of Jan. 4 and 18: By these French excavations have been, for the first time, brought to light inscriptions of considerable length, written by kings of that ancient civilized race called Sumerians. It is to this race that the principal attainments of the Shemitic Babylonians in art, literature, and science, are to be traced.

With several interruptions, M. DE SARZEC has devoted eight campaigns (the last of which he made the subject of a report before the French Academy, October, 1894) to a thorough and successful exploration of the great group of mounds in Southern Babylonia known under the name of Tello. The ruins extend about four English miles, and are situated some three or four days' journey northeast of Bassorah, twelve hours east from the old Warka, on the eastern bank of the canal Shatt el-Hai. They represent a city which is called Shirpurla in the oldest cuneiform inscriptions, and Lagash in the later Babylonian literature.

The first grand results were the excavation of the palace of the priest-king Gudea (about 2900 B. C., or before), the discovery of the invaluable diorite statues so important to the history of art, the finding of a great number of inscribed door-sockets which stood at the entrance of shrines and temples, the unearthing of thousands of inscribed clay cones and bricks, of bronze figures, metal and earthen vessels, and, above all, of the two great terracotta cylinders of Gudea with about two thousand lines of writing each.

*Chronology of the Rulers of Tello=Lagash.*—The earliest rulers of Lagash belong to a period before Sargon I and Narâm-Sin. We place the approximate age of the earliest of these kings, Urukagina, on the threshold of the fifth and fourth millenniums before Christ, or, in round numbers, 4000 B. C.; in other words, two or three hundred

years before Sargon—whose age is established through the well-known passage in the inscription of Nabonidos, in connection with the discoveries of the University of Pennsylvania, and on the basis of paleographic reasons. The four inscriptions of Urukagina—of which only two have been published—came from Tello and Abu-Habba. Up to this time they have passed as the most ancient inscriptions of Babylonian kings; but, in the American excavations at Nippur, older documents have been recently brought to light.

After years of continuous labor, I at last succeeded, during the past summer, in bringing order out of a heap of about four hundred exceedingly small and pretty badly effaced fragments of marble and sandstone vases. Among other things, out of eighty-seven fragments belonging to about sixty different vases, I was able to restore a large royal inscription of one hundred and thirty-two lines, and out of thirty-four other fragments of twenty-odd different vases an inscription of twenty-eight lines. The author of the longer of the two inscriptions lived about the time of Urukagina, while the author of the other cuneiform text must be surely placed before him, in the fifth millennium before Christ.<sup>1</sup>

The chronological order of the earliest princes of Tello after Urukagina has been definitely settled by M. Heuzey, thus: Ur-Ninâ, Akurgal, Edingiranagin, Enanatuma I, Entemena, Enanatuma II. We know also the names of the father (Nigal-nigin) and grandfather (Gur-Sar) of Ur-Ninâ; but, as they bear no other title, it is scarcely possible that they played any important rôle in the history of Lagash. Judged by his inscriptions, Ur-Ninâ was a peace-loving prince, who founded and cared for numerous temples established within the limits of his extended city, which was grouped around a number of prominent quarters or centres. In addition, he restored and fortified the walls of Lagash. The principal deity of the city worshipped by him and his successors was Ningirsu, or Ninsugir, who in reality is identical with the Assyrian Ninib. Little or nothing is known of Akurgal, the son and successor of Ur-Ninâ, because, none of his own inscriptions have so far been found. Edingiranagin [or Eannadu] was one of the mightiest of the very ancient Babylonian rulers. The northern part of the country

<sup>1</sup> LÉON HEUZEY, *Découvertes en Chaldée par Ernest de Sarcze* (not yet finished).

H. V. HILPRECHT, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. I, part I, and *Assyriaca*.

My own recent investigations upon this point have shown that, about a thousand years before this so-called first dynasty of Ur, there was a still earlier powerful dynasty of Babylonian kings having their origin in Ur. Consequently this earlier dynasty must hereafter be reckoned as the first dynasty. For a more detailed account, see *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. I, part II (in press).



was subject to him; at all events, he defeated its two principal warlike kings, and brought rich booty back to Lagash. Ur and Erech, the two venerable centres of early civilization in the south, he seems to have delivered from the hegemony of the north, at the same time proclaiming himself sovereign ruler. Edingiranagin carried his victorious weapons as far as Elam, which appears here for the first time in cuneiform writings, but from this time forth for thousands of years constantly remains the sworn enemy of the border states of Babylonia, threatening their independence and occasionally devastating their fields and plundering their richly endowed temples. The powerful and domineering position attained by Lagash under Edingiranagin cannot have been long maintained. The Shemitic hordes, who at that time were pushing southward, gradually established themselves in the north, and threatened the independence of the south. The oldest written monuments of Babylonia do not designate these enemies of the native Sumerians by any single definite names, but suddenly, and seemingly without any mediation, an extensive Shemitic empire, ready made, meets us, with its capital city in north Babylonia, and we learn of its existence from cuneiform monuments written in the Shemitic language. At all events, the royal title seems to be extinguished after Edingiranagin. All succeeding princes bear the title *patesi*, or priest-prince.

*The Period after Edingiranagin [or Eannadu].*—The recent excavations of De Sarzec brought to light important new documents, even of the period after Edingiranagin, among them a beautiful silver vase with an inscription of Entemena, and they made us acquainted with the names of several *patesi* before unknown (cf. vol. VIII, 609), but still the most important discoveries are the following, which relate to the oldest history of Lagash, just treated. Urukagina, in addition to the four inscriptions previously known, is represented by a new door-socket. The inscription is arranged in two columns around the hole in which the door-pivot moved. But the inscribed part is so effaced that only small fractions remain. The personality of Ur-Ninā, about whom we knew, until very recently, only through a few badly-preserved fragments of limestone slabs, is brought very much nearer to us by the later results of De Sarzec. In the years 1888 and 1889, the French explorer dug up a building, every brick of which bore the inscription, "Ur-Ninā, king of Lagash, son of Nigal-nigin, has built the house of the god Ningirsu." In doing so he reached the real theatre of Ur-Ninā's activity, his temple, and found in this building and its immediate vicinity a large number of valuable and, for the greater part, inscribed objects. Heuzey, in his description of the finds, counted not less than three door-sockets, three votive tablets, together with the bronze statuettes belonging to them, the fragment of an onyx



vase dedicated to the goddess Ba'u, four lion-heads, two fragments of stone tablets with figures of animals, and, above all, three basreliefs in limestone.

These three basreliefs, which are partly square, partly oval, are of especial interest to us as monuments of the earliest Babylonian art. They all three represent the same subject more or less detailed—the king Ur Ninā surrounded by his children and pages. The largest basrelief is forty cent. high, forty-seven cent. broad, and seventeen cent. thick, and contains this representation most complete in its details. This relief is divided into two parts, an upper and a lower half; upon both the king figures as the principal person. He stands upon the upper part with a basket, the symbol of the masons, on his head; upon the lower side he is seated, holding a goblet of wine in his hand, while behind him stands his cupbearer carrying the wine-flask from which he poured into the king's goblet. In both cases the king is clothed with a short garment which covers only the lower half of the body, the upper half is entirely naked. In order to express the dignity of the king and of his position according to the ancient idea of both oriental and classic people, he is represented as a giant, so that in comparison with him his children and servants around him appear like dwarfs. It is characteristic that upon both halves of this, and also upon similar reliefs found in Tello, the inscription begins on the head, and in most cases by the mouth of the king, as though representing words flowing from his mouth, or spoken by him.

*Stele of the Vultures.*—By far the most important and interesting monument which thus far has been found in Tello is the so-called stele of vultures, set up by King Edingiranagin [or Eannadu]. This monument consists of "close-grained white limestone, rounded at the top, and covered with scenes and inscriptions on both its faces." It received its name from a flock of vultures, which carry away the arms, legs, and decapitated heads of the enemies vanquished by the king in a fierce battle. It is preserved only in a fragmentary manner, and even the pieces discovered up to this time are effaced partially, so that it is extremely difficult to gain an exact understanding of all its details, and to decipher satisfactorily the preserved cuneiform characters. Nevertheless, Heuzey, by means of two new fragments, succeeded in explaining to a certain extent the figurative representation in the large and magnificent work on the French excavations edited by him. The front side shows—so far as it is preserved—the following four principal scenes, which stand in a logical relation to one another: (1) The king, Edingiranagin, with his infantry, is fighting a bloody battle; (2) at the head of his troops, and mounted on his chariot, he pursues the defeated enemies; (3) in connection with the funeral rites, he cele-

brates his victory by a sacrifice; (4) he oversees the execution of the captives, and kills with his own hand one of the conquered chiefs.

*Gifts presented by Foreign Kings.*—Among the gifts which were presented to the temple of Ningirsu by foreign kings, who at times acquired a hegemony over Lagash, two inscribed objects deserve especial attention. The one is a vase fragment, which belongs to Alusharshid, king of Kish, who left such a large number of vases in Nippur; and the other is the fragments of a mace-head or sceptre-knob, dedicated by another king of northern Babylonia to the chief god of Tello. Still greater importance must be attached to two votive presents given by two other kings of Kish. The one is a sceptre-knob in stone, the side of which is adorned with six lions. They are so connected with each other that each one with his fore paws clutches the hind paws of the lion ahead of him, at the same time burying his teeth in the shoulder of the latter. The top of the knob contains the well-known lion-headed eagle, the coat of arms of the god Ningirsu and his city of Lagash.

The other consecrated present is a large lance-head made of copper or bronze, and is fourteen centimetres wide and eighty long. It was fastened to the lance-shaft by means of a handle with five round holes. The name of the king is inscribed on the lower end of the copper or bronze head, and the lance was hung in the temple so that the head pointed downwards.

*Discovery of the Library* (cf. *Journal*, x, p. 83).—In spite of the rich discoveries at Tello in the line of artistic and religious objects, until 1894 no clay-tablets of any importance or in large numbers had been brought to light. While the American Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, in Nippur, laid bare several archives containing over thirty-two thousand cuneiform tablets, the results of the French expedition in Tello, until quite recently, so far as I know, amounted to about several hundred tablets, which belonged mostly to the third millennium B. C. But at last (in 1894) about two hundred metres distant from the hill where he uncovered the buildings of the old princes of Lagash, in a small hill De Sarzec came upon a right-angled gallery constructed of unburnt bricks, which concealed, according to his own estimate, about thirty thousand baked clay-tablets covered with cuneiform writing, and arranged in layers, one above another. About five thousand of these are in a perfect state of preservation, although most of the tablets were, naturally, broken. Their contents, so far as they have been examined, embrace mostly contracts, inventories, and lists of sacrifices, from the third and fourth millenniums B. C. A systematic publication and examination of this great library, in spite of the narrow field which it embraces, will bring to view many important

details concerning the language itself and the business life in the temple and the city. Even the enormous size of some of these documents, which reach a length of forty cent., is in itself remarkable. As there are in the collection, also, statuettes, clay-cylinders, and large inscribed pebbles, the building uncovered by De Sarzec may be regarded as a regular literary storehouse or temple archive.

*Plundering of the ruins now going on.*—The field of ruins, owing to the temporary absence of De Sarzec, seems to have been plundered by the thievish Arabs from the neighborhood of Tello. For, at present, a large number of baked clay-tablets are in the possession of dealers in England, France, and America. Already about two thousand of them have been offered for sale to me. After a brief examination of their contents, I could easily determine that they all come from Tello.

**TERRACOTTA TABLETS FROM TELLO.**—Eight years have passed since the Royal Museum at Berlin came into possession, by the liberality of the Councillor of Commerce J. Simon, of those remarkable clay-tablets from the archives of an Egyptian king, whose value for the history of the ancient East has been so great. The Museum is now indebted to James Simon, the son of its late benefactor, for a similar gift. It is a collection of clay-tablets which have not, it is true, the historical importance of the above mentioned "Find at Tell Amarna," but yet afford us an extraordinary insight into the life of a far distant past. There are about 500 tablets of terracotta, in early Babylonian cuneiform writing. They come from the well-known South-Babylonian ruins of Tello. They apparently form a part of a great number excavated, many of which are already distributed among other European Museums. They are mostly legal documents from the temple archives of Tello, from the time of the South-Babylonian kings Ine-Sin, Gamil-Sin, and Bur-Sin, who lived about 2500 B. C. in the city of Ur of the Chaldees, which is also known to us from the biblical history of the patriarchs. The appearance of these tablets varies greatly. Some are rectangular, some square, and some in the shape of a half-globe. Their size ranges from 2½ cm. to 25 cm. The cuneiform writing is sometimes microscopically small, and sometimes large and ancient; the seals are sometimes impressed on the tablet itself, and sometimes on a clay envelop which encloses the tablet, and bears besides a short index of its contents. The most remarkable event of each year is used as a date: for example, one tablet is dated "the year when the King Bur-Sin destroyed the city of Urbellum;" another, "the year when the King Ine-Sin destroyed the cities of Simuru and Lulubu for the ninth (!) time;" a third, the year when the king "erected the statue of the god En Lil;" a fourth, "the year when the Moon God, the Lord, spoke

the oracle;" and so forth. When any year was wanting in events which could serve to designate it, they continued to use the name of the year preceding, or even of the next but one, and dated, for example, "the year after the year when the king Ine-Sin destroyed Anshan." Sometimes the name of a year is changed before it has ended by adding the record of some new event. As was mentioned above, these clay-tablets come from that great South-Babylonian city whose ruins now bear the name of Tello, and which was in ancient times called Lagash. The city had many richly-endowed sanctuaries, and it is with the administration of the wealth of these temples that our tablets are concerned. But it is not only the system of management of the temples which is revealed to us; we learn from the tablets many particulars which contribute to our knowledge of the ancient Babylonians. Thus we are able to conclude, from those which refer to sowing and harvest, that the Babylonian fields produced on an average from 25 to 30 fold of wheat, a rich yield, but far below Herodotos' fabulous estimate of 200 fold. The flocks were principally sheep and oxen, but goats and asses are also mentioned, and two of our tablets are concerned with the feeding of the temple dogs. The government of different cities and their temples was confided to so-called Patesi, who were subject to the king. It is remarkable that a princess is once mentioned as a Patesi. The priests, officials, soldiers and workmen of the temples drew their subsistence from those sanctuaries in whose service they were engaged. How they were employed by those in authority is shown by one remarkable tablet of the collection, which reports upon the employment of two companies, each of 60 men (one under Captain Luschamasch and one under Captain Schizibarra). On a given day, one man was sent to the irrigating canal of king Dungi, 15 men to serve the king, and men with a ship to Nina. Altogether 95 men were employed and only 25 remained, who were not sent out of the city.—*BPW*, 1896, No. 12.

**ANCIENT STELE OF VICTORY.**—At the sitting of May 10, *AIBL*, M. HEUZEY continued to indicate several historic facts which result from the discoveries of M. de Sarzec. He made known, by casts, two fragments of a stele of victory, less ancient, from the style of the figures and of the inscription, than the Stele of the Vultures. This proves that the heads of Sirpourla at no period ceased to be military chiefs. The inscription, although much mutilated, contains an important detail: we find for the first time, on a monument of Tello, the name of the city of *Agade*, which was, before Babylon, one of the capitals of Babylonia.—*RA*, Aug. '95.

#### ASSYRIA.

**ASSYRIAN MEASURES.**—M. OPPERT has pointed out (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1895, pp. 89-104) that the measures of the circuit and the area

of Dur-Sarkin (Khorsabad) must form the basis for valuing Assyrian measures. The span is equal to 0.2745 m., the foot to 0.336 m., the cubit to 0.56 m., the *canne* to 4.03 m., the *soas* to 483 m., the *kasbu* to 14.5 km., etc.—S. REINACH in *RA*, Feb. '96.

**THE BABYLONO-ASSYRIAN PANTHEON.**—M. PUCHSTEIN has given an archaeological commentary on the cuneiform texts signalized by M. BEZOLD, who for the first time furnishes precise indications on the types of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon (*ZA*, 1894, p. 410). The article is above all interesting from the information it gathers together on the oriental type of the heaven-bearing Atlas; I would also signalize that which concerns Atargatis-Derceto.—S. R. in *RA*, Feb. '96.

**BABYLONO-ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM AT CONSTANTINOPLE.**—Professor Dr. H. V. HILPRECHT writes in the *SST* (Feb. 29): Among the Babylo-no-Assyrian antiquities which have come to the knowledge of Assyriologists during the last few years, three deserve special mention: (1) Of fundamental value for our knowledge of the early history of art in Mesopotamia, and of the extent of the earliest Shemitic dominion, is the fragment of a basrelief in basalt, with the remains of four columns in Old-Babylonian cuneiform characters. In the first column are still preserved portions of the name of king Narâm-Sin ("Beloved of the Moon God"), the son and successor of Sargon I. He caused the monument to be erected about 3750 B. C., upon a terrace presumably near Diarbekir, on the Upper Tigris. Père Scheil, who was in Constantinople at that time, published text and relief for the first time in the *Recueil de Travaux*, etc.<sup>1</sup> I have published a new and critical edition of the relief and of its inscription in *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* (vol. 1, part 2). The place where the monument was found confirms the correctness of my attempted reconstruction of the oldest Shemitic domain, of which I maintained, on the basis of other facts, that it extended in the north to the natural boundary formed by the Armenian mountains. Although the monument is broken, and the preserved fragment defaced, yet it shows us that the artisans of that very ancient time were skilful in using hammer and chisel on the hardest materials. We are faced with the strange but undeniable fact, that we also find in studying the oldest stone vases and seal-cylinders, that Babylonian art, 4000 B. C., shows a knowledge of human forms, an observation of the laws of art, and a neatness and fineness of execution, far beyond the products of later times. The flower of Babylonian art, indeed, is found at the beginning of Babylonian history. In the succeeding millenniums we find here and there

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. Edited by Maspero (vol. xv, pp. 62, ff.).

a renaissance, but on the whole the art of this entire period disports itself in the grotesque and exaggerated; it is only the degenerated successor of a brilliant but bygone time.

Another interesting discovery, important for the Neo-Assyrian period, was made in the beginning of 1894 at Tell-Abta, a mound situated about sixteen miles southeast of Mosul. It is a beautifully-preserved alabaster stele belonging to the chief of the palace, Bêl-Harrân-bêl-usur ("O Bel of Harran, protect the master"), who, according to the so-called Canon of Eponyms, occupied twice (741 and 727 B. C.) the highest position of state next to king Tiglath-Pileser III (the Pul of the Old Testament, 745-727 B. C.). As Bêl-Harrân-bêl-usur, in his inscription of thirty lines, expresses himself very independently for an Assyrian official, the stele was probably erected by him in 727, between the death of Tiglath-Pileser and the accession to the throne of Shalmaneser IV (727-722 B. C.); that is, during the short interval when it was easy for him to behave like a ruler. The founding of a new town, named after him Dûr-Bêl-Harrân-bêl-usur, gave occasion for it. He founded this new city in obedience to an oracle of the gods, and, having adorned it with a richly endowed temple, he caused his likeness, carved in stone, and inscribed with a brief history of his deeds, to be set up in it as a memorial. Before the statue of this dignitary are placed several symbols of the gods mentioned in the inscription, and arranged in the same order. We are thus enabled definitely to determine the symbols of Marduk and Nebo, which occur very often in Babylono-Assyrian works of art. The mound Tell-Abta, in which the stele was found, probably contains the remains of the old Dûr-Bêl-Harrân-bêl-usur.

Of still greater importance to Assyrian history of the seventh century B. C. is the stele of Nabonidos, recently discovered at Mujellibeh, near Hillah; that is, within the old city-boundary of Babylon (*cf. AJA*, p. 95). It is of basalt, and one half is broken off. The now mutilated cuneiform inscription consisted originally of eleven long columns, of which the lower part has been preserved. Nabonidos has left a number of inscriptions, but most of them refer almost entirely to his excavating and restoring very ancient temples and reviving their rites. In this instance, however, contrary to his usual habit, he interweaves a number of important historical events and chronological data with what he has to tell us of his temples. The stele is therefore a valuable source for the reconstruction of the later Babylonian and Assyrian history of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. (*cf. A. H. SAYCE*, pp. 96-98).

INSCRIPTION OF KING SIN-SAR-İKUR.—At the sitting of March 13, '96, of the *AIBL*, M. Oppert announced that R. P. SCHEIL had dis-



covered an important inscription containing a donation made by the king Sin-Sar-ikur, whom M. Oppert supposed to be the last king of Nineveh. The text given by M. Scheil established that this king was the son of the great Sardanapalos (Assur-bani-pal).—*RC*, 1896, No. 12.

### ARABIA.

#### ARABIA ACCORDING TO THE LATEST DISCOVERIES AND RESEARCHES.

—We extract the following from Dr. FRITZ HOMMEL's most interesting *résumé* in the *SST*, of Oct. 12 and Nov. 2, 1895.

DR. EDWARD GLASER'S DISCOVERIES.—Until lately, it has been the general opinion that the inscriptions found in South Arabia by travelers in the last decenaries did not date farther back than about 100 B. C. Only the mention of the Sabean *Ita'amara* in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Sargon led the late François Lenormant to the belief that one of the princes of Saba, Jatha'amir, known from inscriptions, must be identical with him; that, at least, both names must be the same. This observation of Lenormant resulted in the Sabeists, not long after, drawing the inference of the date of composition of the oldest Sabean royal inscriptions. The attention of Oriental scholars had been since then more closely directed to ancient Arabia; and this became still more the case when an Austrian explorer, Dr. Edward Glaser, who since 1882 has made four journeys to Arabia, brought not only a large number of new inscriptions from there, but also tried to prove that a whole series of inscriptions, the so-called Minean, had to be placed before the Sabean. According to this assertion, the beginning of our information on the civilization of South Arabia, as derived from inscriptions, is to be moved backward to the middle of the second millennium before Christ. This supposition, although so far not refuted, is still opposed by several scholars. Yet it is the lasting merit of Glaser's researches into the archaeology of South Arabia to have placed the important part Arabia played in the history of the ancient Shemitic nations in the proper light by means of inscriptions, the Old Testament, cuneiform inscriptions, and the classics. He did this in his sketch of the *History and Geography of Arabia* (vol. II. Berlin, 1890). Of the first volume, treating of the history of Arabia, only the first part has been published. Almost everything that we possess in the line of new and important inscriptions, since the acquisition of the so-called Osiander inscriptions in London, and the often unreliable copies of Halévy in Paris, we owe to the four exploring tours of Edward Glaser to Arabia. This is especially true of his third tour in 1888, and the fourth tour from September 1892 to the spring of 1894. On account of the remarkable place where they were found, the numerous, but unfortunately



mostly fragmentary, inscriptions copied by Julius Euting at El-Oela, in Northern Arabia, in 1884, and afterwards edited by D. H. Müller, of Vienna, must also be mentioned. Their real significance, however, was set forth later by Glaser (in his sketch, vol. II). A part of these fragments, like most of the inscribed stones obtained by Glaser on his second journey (1885), and afterwards sold to the British Museum, belong to the text written in the Minean dialect, which, on account of their linguistic character, and probably also the time of their composition, must be regarded as older than the Sabeian, and, according to Glaser, reach even into the second millennium before Christ. Through another portion of the fragments from which Euting took squeezes, we get acquainted with the so-called Lihyanian inscriptions, which present an entirely new style and manner of writing. Their language approaches closely the later written dialect of Northern Arabia, but has still the article in the older form *han-* (or *ha-*), almost identical with the Hebrew. The writing is a variety of the alphabet used in Southern Arabia, and the people are the *banū Lihyān*, also mentioned by the Arabian authors. These lived, as Glaser has correctly stated, originally in the east of Arabia, whence they probably also brought their writing; then, between the decline of the Nabatean Empire and the appearance of Muhammad, perhaps about A. D. 300–400, they founded a little empire in Northwestern Arabia, until finally (in the neighborhood of Mecca) they were absorbed by the well-known tribe of the Hudhailites.

*Glaser's third journey.*—To return to Glaser's journeys, the third of which will be always memorable for his visit to Mārib, the old capital of the Sabeans, which he pursued in March, 1888, and which lasted five weeks. It was reserved for Glaser to get fully acquainted with the famous Sabeian metropolis, where he remained for more than a month as the guest of the sheriff of Mārib, and whence he brought a rich collection of about three hundred inscriptions. In the first part of his sketch (vol. I, *History*), distributed among the members of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm, but, unfortunately, not yet published, Glaser spoke of the most important results of his third journey, and especially of his visit to Mārib. This report attracted at that time much attention, and I am glad to be able to state here that before the end of this year the first (historical) part of his sketch will be completed.

*Two Sabeian Inscriptions from Mārib.*—The most interesting of the numerous texts from Mārib and its nearest surroundings, and at the same time the longest of all inscriptions from South Arabia hitherto known, are the so-called Sirwāh inscription, written at the end of the rule of the Sabeian priest-kings (about 700 B. C., or perhaps a few centuries earlier), and the two steles referring to the famous dam of Mārib, the

second of which contains also new historical dates, and, being dated itself, can be regarded as the latest Sabean inscription (A. D. 542). It consists of not less than a hundred and thirty-six short lines, and informs us of the successfully suppressed revolt against the Ethiopic rule then established in Southern Arabia (since A. D. 525), and in connection with this fact of a rupture of the dam just mentioned, which was built about a thousand years earlier. The Ethiopic king of whom the inscription speaks, Ramhûs (or Ramhîs), was so far not even nominally known, although the name of his viceroy, Abraha, who is also mentioned in the inscription, was familiar to scholars. Besides, we are informed that when peace was concluded with the rebels, the two then predominant powers, Rome (Byzantium) and Persia, and their North-Arabian vassals, the prince of the Ghassanides, Harith (Aretas) bin Gabalat, and the king of Hira (on the Euphrates), al-Mundhir (who is mentioned so frequently in the old Arabic poems from the time before Muhammad) were represented by ambassadors. Like several other post-Christian inscriptions, partly known before Glaser's journeys, this text is dated according to a so-far-unknown era, which various scholars had supposed to be the era of the Seleucides. The year of this era mentioned in our inscription is the year 657. The researches of Glaser (to whom I am indebted for the present summary of contents) have, however, proved beyond doubt that the era in question is not that of the Seleucides, but an era commencing with the year 115 B. C., and which is probably national Sabean. Accordingly, this inscription was written in A. D. 542, shortly after the war which Byzantium and Persia—or, rather, Ghassan and Hira—had carried on against each other (in A. D. 540).

This inscription, which, from its Christian opening ("in the power of the All-merciful and his Messiah and the Holy Ghost"), also has a certain significance for church history, throws light upon the last period of Sabean history. But the aforesaid Sirwâh inscription (about 700 B. C.) is of greater importance for Shemitic antiquity. In part, it had already been copied by Halévy, but the suspicious Bed'ween had taken his copy away from him. Glaser, however, succeeded in copying the whole large inscription of about a thousand words—indeed, he even managed to take a splendid squeeze of it. In different passages of his sketch (I, 62 f.; II, 89, 166, 243, 285, 294, 435, 449, 451, 463 f.) Glaser refers, in a more or less detailed way, to the contents of this highly interesting inscription. According to his statements, it was written by the priest-king (*mukarrib*) Kariba-il Watar, son of Dhamar-'alî, who flourished shortly before the period of the "kings" of Saba. His predecessor (probably his grandfather, Jada'-il Bayyin) had already carried on a successful war against the empire of Ma'in and that of Katabân, in

consequence of which the king of Katabân became an ally of Saba, while Ma'in collapsed into ruins, or, at the most, was limited to its former capital, Karnâ'u. Kariba-il prides himself on having a whole number of towns of the Minean empire, among them especially the former second capital of Ma'in, Jathil, surrounded with walls, and consecrated to the god Almak-hu of Saba. Several other smaller empires—as Harim, Nashan, etc.—are mentioned besides as having been humiliated, and the names of the devastated towns, as well as the number of the killed and prisoners, are stated.

The discovery of this inscription, and the study of the former Minean inscriptions made known by Halévy, all of which presuppose a large Minean kingdom situated in the Gôf of South Arabia, with the two centres Ma'in (or, Karnâ'u) and Jathil, have caused Glaser to draw a conclusion of great historical importance: namely, that, though Eratosthenes (about 250 B. C., quoted by Strabo) still speaks of four great nations in South Arabia, the Mineans, Sabæans, Katabânians, and Hadhramautians, "who are ruled by kings," the Minean kingdom known from inscriptions must chronologically be placed *before* the rise of the Sabæan power. Glaser's chief reason for this theory was the strange absence of mutual mentioning each other, both in the Minean and Sabæan inscriptions. If, notwithstanding this, we should adhere to the view that the two empires existed contemporaneously, we should have to assume, in addition, that, after the defeat of Ma'in by Saba (towards the end of the period of the priest-kings of Saba), Ma'in succeeded once more in effecting a consolidation—a process which naturally could not have taken place without a thorough humiliation of the Sabæan rival empire. But neither the Sabæan nor the Minean inscriptions, although we now possess a considerable number of both, indicate anything of such an event. Consequently we shall have to abide by Glaser's theory, which I, for my part, consider one of the most fortunate historical hypotheses. This theory is of the greatest historical range, inasmuch as from it it follows that, as the most flourishing period of the Minean empire, we must consider the centuries preceding and following 1000 B. C., in a round number about 1300 to 700 B. C., or, perhaps more correctly, about 1400 (or 1500) to 800 B. C. By this assumption the civilization of Southern Arabia was contemporary with the Old Assyrian and the Middle Babylonian, as well as with the Egyptian of the New Empire. This is at present the less remarkable, as it became evident (see forward, p. 116) that there existed, as early as about 2000 B. C., a civilization in Arabia which must have been very similar to that familiar to us in South Arabia, and of which, in all probability, this latter was only a younger branch.

*The Land of Ophir.*—In the second, the geographical, part of the

sketch, which was written and published in the interval between his third and fourth journeys, Glaser established a number of new facts of historic biblical nature which are not directly connected with his inscriptions. The most important of them, involving an entirely new conception of the significance of Arabia for Shemitic antiquity, and radically transforming our old ideas of the Arabian peninsula, may be briefly stated here. First of all, there is to be pointed out what appears to me the final location of the famous gold-land Ophir, which according to Glaser, is situated nowhere else than in the east of Arabia, and comprised the coast of the present Bahrein and its back land, the country of Yemâma. In order to reach it, Hiram's or Solomon's ships had to sail from Elat around the whole of Arabia, stopping, in all probability, still at a number of ports important for the trade with India. This explains the long duration of the whole voyage, which, back and forth, lasted three years. Glaser proves his theory, among other reasons, by referring to the numerous gold-mines in Yemâma, which, in fact, are known to have still existed in the ninth century before Christ, and reminding us of the riches of gold in the same region (the ancient Milukha) at the time of Gudea, about 2800 B. C. Besides, he recalls the fact that the opposite coast of Elam (the later Persian shore) was in ancient times called Apir—a name identical with the Hebrew Ophir, and in later times transferred, as he thinks, to the coast of East Arabia, which at certain periods was under Elamitic influence (*cf. AJA*, xi. pp. 76, 77).

*Glaser's fourth journey.*—I now turn to the results of his fourth journey (September, 1892, to spring of 1894), so far as they have been published. This last time also Glaser brought back a collection of original monuments equal in value to those of his former journeys (at present in the museums of Berlin and London). It has been sold meanwhile to Vienna, where it forms a treasure of the Court Museum. By far the most important result obtained by Glaser's last journey is the numerous squeezes of larger inscriptions, taken from original monuments which could never be removed, and partly from districts never reached before by any European. For scientific purposes they have the same value as the originals, and it is only to be hoped that some scientific institute or museum may soon undertake their publication, and compensate financially, to some extent, the intrepid traveler who, for the attainment of his high aim, sacrificed health, energy, and a large amount of money.

Among these squeezes there are especially two groups of inscriptions which deserve our attention. For the first time we have the authentic text of the larger inscriptions of the Minean kings from the Gôf (Ma'in and Barâkish), which only now can be fully utilized for science, as

Halévy's copies were mostly insufficient and incomplete. Secondly, we now possess about a hundred texts of an entirely new, and so far unknown, species of inscriptions; namely, Katabanian royal inscriptions, written in the Minean dialect. They are of the greatest importance for completing the picture which we can draw of the history and civilization of South Arabia. In the first volume of his sketch, shortly to be published, Glaser will draw the historical results from all the new material which we owe to his efforts.

ARABIA AND PHENICIA UNDER BABYLONIAN INFLUENCE.—It had been supposed for a long time, that the countries Magan and Milukh, often mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, were to be looked for in Arabia. In the second (the geographical part) of his sketch Glaser has proved beyond doubt that Magan is that part of Arabia bounding Babylonia (on the Persian Gulf), and that Milukh represents Northwest Arabia (to the peninsula of Sinai, but not including it). These two dominions, including the whole northern part of Arabia, have always been, even in remote antiquity, in close connection with Babylonia—a fact clearly brought out by the inscriptions found by De Sarzec in Tello. Even the ancient king of Sirgulla, Ur-Ghanna [or Ur-Ninâ] prides himself in having brought from Magan all kinds of *kishkanû* trees; namely, palm-trees. These are the same trees called, later on, *musukkan*, and, by way of Babylonian popular etymology, also *mis-Magan* ("tree of Magan"). Yea, king Narâm-Sin of Agadi, who probably lived not long after Ur-Ghanna, and had led an expedition against Magan, brought, among other things, a beautiful vase of alabaster as booty. A still more important part Magan and Milukh played at the time of the renowned priest-king, Gudea of Sirgulla [or Sirpurla]. As Magan was the principal place whence Gudea brought the diorite (*ushû* stone) which he used for his statues, it is also mentioned with Milukh, Gubi, and Nituk (Dilmun, in the Persian Gulf) as producing different kinds of hard wood used for ship-building, while Milukh was especially noted for its *ushû* wood and its gold-dust. The latter was also obtained from the Khâkhum Mountains; namely, Khâkh, southeast from Medina. As the Babylonians designated Magan also as the Copper Mountains, and, as the country neighboring Magan is Mash, which plays such an important part in the "Nimrod Epic," and forms the high plateau of Central Arabia, the assertion that the Copper Mountains of Kimash ("land of Mash") are identical with the Mash Mountains seems not too bold. The entrance gate to this dark and dreary mountain region, which Nimrod had to pass in order to reach the "Isle of the Blessed," the abode of his ancestor Noah, was guarded by the fabulous scorpion men. "The Gate of his Ancestor" (*Abul-abi-shu*) was the name given to these mountains by the

Babylonians. They have this name even in the inscriptions of Gudea (Sumerian, *Ka-gal-adda*). According to the cuneiform inscriptions, Milukh was also famously known for its precious stones, especially the *sāmdu* stone, or the *shoham* of the Bible. Altogether, the parallelism of Milukh and Havilah, as already pointed out by Glaser, seems striking. Milukh with its products of gold-dust, *sāmdu* stones, and *ushû* wood, and Havilah with its gold, *shoham* stones, and *bedolakh*.

From all this it follows that since ancient times East and West Arabia, as far south as the Tropic of Cancer, and the Westland, Martu, which bounded Milukh on the north, were under the influence of Babylonian civilization. The mountains of Martu, called Tidanum, whence Gudea got his alabaster (*shir-gal*), are doubtless identical with the Dedan of the Bible and of the Minean inscriptions, and were situated east of Edom and in the eastern part of the Jordan region.

ARABIAN DYNASTY RULING BABYLONIA.—Five hundred years later, about 2000 B. C., we find in Babylonian history a remarkable fact, qualified to cast a new light on Shemitic history. While, in South Babylonia, first a Shemitic, then an Elamite, dynasty ruled (at Larsa), which also claimed the supremacy over North Babylonia, Arabian princes had succeeded in gaining firm foothold in the city of Babel. Finally they united the whole Babylonia, and brought it under their sceptre, until they were overthrown after three hundred years—most likely by the Elamite-Kassite king Gandas. This represents the well-known first Babylonian dynasty, which was at its height under the renowned king Khammurabi, and whose last king but one was Ammi-zaduga. As several of the eleven names had a good Babylonian sound, especially that of the fourth king, Apil-Sin, and that of the fifth, Sin-muballit, nobody<sup>1</sup> had so far ever doubted the Babylonian origin of this dynasty, until, some years ago, the well-known English Assyriologist Sayce pointed out the identity of the name of the last king but one, Ammi-zaduga, and that of the South Arabic (Minean) name Ammi-saduq, whose second element, *zadug*, belongs to a root which is not found in Assyria. Sayce (*Records of the Past*, new series, vol. III, 1890, Preface, pp. x ff.) besides pointed out the fact that the bilingual list of kings (Rawlinson's *Inscriptions*, vol. I, pl. 54) translates the name Khammu-rabi by Kimta-rapashtu ("Extended Family"), and the name Ammi-zaduga by Kimtu-kittu ("Just Family"),—thus *khammu* as well as *ammi* by "family." Sayce adds, as his opinion: "It is more probable that in both instances it is really the name of god," referring to such names of the Old Testament as

<sup>1</sup> As early as 1888 the French scholar Pognon claimed Arabian (or Aramean) origin for this dynasty (comp. *Journal Asiatique*, vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 543-547).—EDITOR OF SST.



Ammi-el, Jerob'am ("Am fights;" comp. "Jisra-el"), and the Kedreo, Arabic name of the king Ammu-ladin. Although the list of the eleven kings of this first dynasty, from Number III to Number XI, has the addition "son of the preceding," Sayce concludes that the first five kings must have been of national Babylonian descent, but that from Khammu-rabi "nomad Semites on the frontiers of Chaldea" had seized the dominion.

*Names of this Dynasty Arabic.*—Not only the kings beginning with Khammu-rabi, but the whole first dynasty, are of Arabian and not of Canaanite origin. In the first two names, Shumu-abi ("Shem is my father") and Sumula-ilu ("Is Shem not god?"), we observe the same circumscription of the name of god so frequent in the inscriptions of South Arabia. For example, in the name Sim-hû-rijâmi ("His name is my glory"), Sim-hû-'alî ("His name is sublime"), Jada'-sim-hû ("He knows his name," name of a god of Harim, comp. the Hebrew Shem-jada', *Num.* 26: 32, and first of all Shemû-el, "His name is God," *Samuel*). The name of the patriarch Shem is most likely also only an abbreviation of a proper name, composed with Shem=god. The third name, Zabium, is Arabic, evident by the closing *m*, the so-called mimation, and, in fact, occurs in inscriptions from South Arabia (for example, British Museum, 25, 6), as well as in the lists of the genealogists of North Arabia; the significance is "warrior." In regard to the sixth name, Khammu-rabi, there exists a whole series of equally formed names of contemporaries, as Samas-rabi, Sin-rabi, Rammân-rabi, etc. Either these names signify "Samas, Sin, Rammân," etc., "is my lord," or . . . "is great," or "multiplied." In both cases, the mode of expression is Arabic, as the name Jarbi-ilu (the Babylonians would say Irbi-ilu), a name of the same epoch, proves. That the Babylonians themselves considered this element *rabi* to be of foreign origin, proves their translation of the name Khammu-rabi by Kimturapashtu. Still more interesting is even the first element Khammu, which, according to the analogy of the other names composed with *rabi*, must be regarded as the name of a god. Already the existence of an ancient Shemitic god 'Am (with *ajin*, Babylonian pronunciation Khammu) has been quite correctly inferred by Sayce. To settle this question absolutely, Glaser informs us that, according to his newly discovered Katabanian inscriptions, written in the Minean dialect, the principal god was called 'Amm, in consequence of which the Katabanians were called "children of 'Amm" (*walad Amm*) by the Sabeans. The signification of 'Am, the name of this god, is uncle. To the ancient Shemites, god was their father (*abu*), uncle (*ammu* and *khâlu*), and their cousin or beloved one (*dâdu*), in one person. Thus the other names with *'ammî* ("my uncle"),—for example, in Hebrew, *'Ammî-el* ("my uncle is



god"),—which, however, also originate from the ancient Mineans in Arabia, where they were understood and preserved the longest.

Here belong the names of the ninth and tenth kings, Ammi-satana and Ammi-zaduga. We must not be surprised that (according to the analogy of Khammu in Khammu-rabi) we do not meet with Khammi, even in these names. The Babylonians rendered the West Shemitic *qin* either by *kh* or by a *spiritus lenis* (or, alepic) only. Thus we find in a contract tablet one and the same name, 'Abdi-ilu, written in the beginning Ab-di-ilu, and farther on, Kha-ab-di-ilu (Pinches, "Collection of Sir Henry Peek," No. 13, time of king Zabium).

The seventh name, that of the son of Khammu-rabi, is Samsu-ilu-na; namely, "Samas is our deity." In Babylonian, this name would be Samsu-ilu-ni (as, for instance, Samas-abu-ni, "Samas is our father"); in Canaanite it would be Samsu-ilenu. Only the Arabs would say *ilu-na* for "our god." The names of the last three kings (Ammi-satana, Ammi-zaduga, and therewith also Samsu-satana) having already been examined, there still remains the name of the eighth king Abishu, or Ibishu. The complete writing of it is Abishu'a (A-bi-i-shu-u-a), (British Museum, 80, 11-12, 185. Winckler, *Allorientalische Forschungen*). This name, it is true, is also met with among the Hebrews as Abi-shu'a (great-grandson of Aharon), but in regard to its formation it can only be understood as Arabic where in the inscriptions it is rendered as Abi-jathu'a. The Arabian prince whose likeness we have in the well-known representation of a tomb of the twelfth dynasty, is also called Ibsha', or Absha'. The thirty-seven richly dressed 'Amu (namely, worshipers of 'Am) who accompanied him, offer eye-paint or *meadem*, also a special product of Arabia (*ithmid*, *stibium*). Later, at the time of Assurbanipal, we meet with the same name once more, being that of a prince of the Kedarenes, but, in the more Aramaic pronunciation, Abijati'.

*Arabic Names of Private Persons.*—Not only are the names of the kings of the first Babylonian dynasty purely Arabic, but we also find, as it is natural to expect, in the contract tablets dating from that period, a whole series of names of private persons of pure Arabic origin. Such names as Ya'zar-ilu, Natunum Samasriyâmi, Jarbi-ilu, Jakbar-ilu, Jakhziru, Makhnûbi-ilu, Makhnûzu, Jamlik-ilu, Jadikhum (𐎧𐎶), etc., are recognized at first sight as pure Arabic, and not Babylonian formations. We have to deal with the irrefutable fact that the most renowned dynasty of the Babylonians, the kings under whose rule Abraham lived (for Amraphel is Ammu-rapalt, as the Babylonians remodeled the originally Arabic name Khammu-rabi), were of pure Arabian descent. This makes it comprehensible that old Babylonian words (probably already before Khammu-rabi's time) are to be

traced to the Arabic; as, for instance, *sattukku* (sacrificial offering), Sumerian *sa-dug* to the Arabic *sadaqat*. But, on the other side, it becomes clear whence in the very oldest Arabic idiom, that of the Mineans, whose empire flourished, according to Glaser, before that of Sabeans, certain radical linguistic influences originated. They can be traced only to Babylonia. To Babylonian influence must be referred the fact that among their gods the Mineans also have 'Athtar and Sin, deities of pure Babylonian origin; and that they reckon according to eponyms. Their alphabet, an older sister of the Phœnician, was probably also formed according to Babylonian models.

*Conclusions.*—Considering these facts, the magnificent researches and discoveries of inscriptions by Edward Glaser in South Arabia are presented in an entirely new light, and enter into the foreground of our interest for biblical and Oriental antiquity. Although at present we cannot state whether as early as the time of Khammu-rabi a Minean empire existed, and from which part of Arabia its dynasty came, nevertheless, from a study of the proper names we can draw the result that, even at that period, an Arabian civilization existed equal to the Mineo-Sabean. The fact also that Khammu-rabi and his successors were at the same time kings of the West-land, deserves our attention. Through Glaser again we know that the Mineans had extensive commercial intercourse with Ghaza and Edom (Dedan), and Dedan (Tidanum) the old Babylonians considered a part of Martu. The unlucky expedition of Kedor-laomer (at the time of Khammu-rabi, who himself was a vassal of the Elamite King) was directed to the district of the Dead Sea, and to Elat—that is, the territory of the Dedanites. Magan (the old name for Eastern Arabia)—a country which gave to ancient Babylonia a whole dynasty, attended with so many other things; and which itself *vice versa* was influenced from there for millenniums—deserves our whole interest, even in its later development.

*Effect of Arabian Inscriptions on Modern Destructive Criticism.*—It is my conviction that Arabia itself will furnish us the direct proofs that the modern destructive criticism of the Pentateuch is absolutely erroneous. The age of the Minean inscriptions runs parallel with that of the so-called code of the priests. If the former are as old as Glaser believes them to be, and the Arabian civilization, as I have here proved, already existed at the time of Abraham, then the laws of the priests of Israel are also very ancient. The best proofs for the historical accuracy of the Old Testament traditions come more and more from without, from the inscriptions of the surrounding nations. For this very reason every sum of money spent for Shemitic epigraphy is well invested whether spent for Assyro-Babylonian excavations, as

they are at present so vigorously and successfully carried on by the Babylonian Exploration Fund of the University of Pennsylvania, or for the purchase of squeezes of Minean, Katabanian, and Sabeian inscriptions.

**PROPOSED CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ARABICARUM.**—M. Max van Berchem, of Geneva, has for some time been endeavouring to awaken the scientific world to the urgent necessity of compiling a *corpus* of Arabic inscriptions, as complete and as elaborate as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* which is in process of publication. We believe that M. Barbier de Meynard and M. Maspero have brought the subject before the *Académie des Inscriptions*. Meanwhile, until the *Corpus* can be definitely begun, M. van Berchem is doing his best to gather materials. He has already collected a large number of unpublished inscriptions in Egypt and Syria, and he now publishes as a first instalment the results of his researches at Cairo: *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*. Première Partie, *Égypte*; Fasc. I., *Le Caire* (Paris, Leroux).—*Athenæum*, Aug. 17, '95.

### SYRIA.

**INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTH SYRIA.**—At the sitting of the *AIBL* of Dec. 13, '95, M. Barbier de Meynard communicated extracts from the report of M. MAX VAN BERCHEM, of Geneva, on the epigraphic exploration in North Syria made by him in 1895. With the texts which he had previously collected, M. Van Berchem possesses at present nearly 1,500 inscriptions, for the most part historical, while the rest, without having a direct connection with history, make known the complicated machinery of the government under the various dynasties which have contended for the soil of Syria. Many of these inscriptions are *actes de fondation*, as interesting for the understanding of the Mussulman law (on the technology of which it throws light) as for the political geography of the country, thanks to the mention of a large number of market-towns and domains, the revenue of which was taken for the support of public edifices.—*RA*, Feb., '96.

**PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS.**—At a sitting of *AIBL*: M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU (Sep. 20) announced the discovery, in Syria, of a Phœnician inscription of five or six lines, in which is mentioned the King of Assyria; it appears to date from the VI cent. B. C.

**THE HITTITES.**—M. HILPRECHT, in his *Assyriaca*, takes up the study of the plaque from Tarkondemos. He places it towards 1250 B. C., and reads *Metan* as the name of the country; perhaps identical with *Mitani*, the *Aram-Naharaïm* of the Bible.

The basrelief of Arslan-Tépé, now at Malatia, which Mr. Hogarth has published, represents a prince on a biga shooting an arrow at a lion.

It is a very interesting specimen of Hittite art, surmounted by a well-preserved inscription (*Recueil de Travaux*, 1895, p. 25).—*RA*, Feb., '96.

**DR. BLISS' EXPEDITION TO MOAB AND GILEAD IN MARCH, 1895.**—Dr. Bliss reports his journey with illustrations in the *PEF* (1895, pp. 203–235, 371–2). In this expedition Dr. Bliss examined Madeba, Kerak, Mashetta, and other places beyond the Dead Sea. Among other discoveries in this region, is that of a previously unknown Roman fort and a walled town with towers and gates, like those of Mashetta.

**ALEPPO=BEROIA.**—At the Nov. 8 sitting of the *AIBL*, M. Clermont-Ganneau presented the summary report of M. BARTHÉLEMY, dragoman of the French consulate at Aleppo, upon the investigations undertaken by him in September, 1894, in the region north of Aleppo. M. Barthélemy explored the ruins of Tell Arfād, Azāz, Killis, Qoûros and other ancient localities in this little-known region. He had taken photographs of them, which accompanied his narration, and among these M. Clermont-Ganneau signalized three views of *Qoûros*, the Qal'a and the village of 'Azāz, which lies spread out at the foot of a remarkable tell, certainly ancient, where fruitful excavations might be undertaken; two views of the ancient monument known in Kurdish tradition under the name of Heuru-Peyghamber, the "prophet Heuru" (a name which recalls that of Uriah the Hittite, the general of David, the unfortunate husband of Bathsheba). The report contained interesting details with regard to this ancient legend, derived from Arab authors. M. Barthélemy had collected during his expedition several Greek inscriptions of no great interest, and four Palmyrene sepulchral inscriptions, apparently originating from Palmyra itself. He had discovered besides, at Aleppo, two new Hittite inscriptions, and he sent a certain number of antique objects which will be submitted to the examination of competent archaeologists.—*RA*, Feb., '96.

**NERAB.—TWO SCULPTURED ARAMAIC STELAI.**—M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU presented to the *AIBL* (sitting of March 13, '96) two stelai from Nerab, acquired by him in behalf of the Commission of the *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* and destined for the Museum of the Louvre. These two monuments are of the highest value for oriental archaeology and at the same time two precious pages for Shemitic epigraphy. They come from the immediate vicinity of Aleppo, from a little Arab city which still preserves the ancient name of the locality, *Nerab*, which has already appeared on the list of the conquest of Thohtmes III in Syria. Both of these massive stelai, cut in a hard and black stone, bear sculptures in basrelief accompanied by long inscriptions in the old alphabet employed on the stele of Mesa and the monuments of Sindjirli. The language is Aramaic, but an Aramaic full of archaic forms of the

greatest interest for the history of the evolution of the Shemitic languages.—*RC*, 1896, No. 12.

**DJERACH (NEAR).**—GREEK INSCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT LAW.—At the sitting of the *AIBL* of May 10, '95, M. Clermont-Ganneau presented, on behalf of M. JEAN FARAH, of Tyr, a long Greek inscription brought from Syria and offered by him to the Greek government, as well as various other antiquities which he has also presented to the Louvre (a great head of a roaring lion, in hard limestone, coming from an ancient fountain; a terracotta lamp in the shape of a goat standing on its hind legs; a small bust of a warrior in terracotta, and various objects in terracotta and in lead). This inscription, coming from the neighborhood of Djerach, is a fragment of an ancient law or of an administrative decision, intended to protect the vineyards against marauding and depredations. The various deeds of dereliction are defined and progressive fines are apportioned according to their gravity. M. Clermont-Ganneau signalizes in this connection the testimony of ancient authors and of the old Arab geographers, which shows how extensive the culture of the vine had become in this trans-jordanic region.—*RA*, Aug., '95.

**THE HAURAN.**—The REV. W. EWING publishes in the *PEF* (1895, pp. 41-67, 131-184, 265-294, 346-368) an account of a journey in the Hauran made in 1892, together with facsimiles of 186 Greek and other inscriptions, etc., collected by him during the journey.

**GREEK INSCRIPTION FROM THE HAURAN.**—At the Oct. 18 sitting of the *AIBL*, M. Glermont-Ganneau interpreted a Greek inscription from the Hauran which up to this time has been badly read and misunderstood. He shows that it is a dedication made to a Jupiter named *Saphatonian*, that is to say of the land of *Saphatt*, which still preserves its ancient name under the form of *Safa*, whence this inscription comes.—*RA*, Dec., '95, p. 374.

**HOMS.**—M. BALTAZZI reports with regard to the excavations being carried on in this place by M. Gautier (of Lyons). M. Gautier has found "hatchets, bracelets, awls, lance-heads, styles, spatulas, fibulas, bronze javelins, pottery of various epochs, Roman lamps, an alabaster crescent, sling-stones, rock crystal, cut flints, an Egyptian scarab; and, finally, skulls, which at the request of M. Gautier, have been sent by the Museum of Constantinople to Dr. Hamy."—*S. R.* in *RA*, Feb. '96.

**SINDJIRLI.**—The Museum of Berlin has recently exhibited some new basreliefs brought from Sindjirli. M. Sachau has communicated to the Academy of Berlin (Feb. 14, 1895) the Aramaic inscriptions engraved on the image of king Barrekûb, son of Panammû (c. 730 B. C.). One of the inscriptions mentions the god Baal-Harrân.

According to M. HALÉVY, a cylinder published by Père Scheil as

Aramaic bears, in reality, an inscription in the Hittite dialect of Sindjirli. The text has the appearance of being related to the Biblical *Psalms* and is thus translated: "The Most High has destroyed the Kings" (*RS*, 1895, p. 185).—S. R. in *RA*, Feb., '96.

### PALESTINE.

**JERUSALEM**.—EXCAVATIONS OF 1895.—The excavations of 1895 were mainly confined to the tracing of the line of ancient wall south of the present city wall. In 1894, were exposed the remains of an ancient tower close to the southeastern side of the Protestant burial-ground, and a number of other towers were discovered in the line of the wall, whilst the wall itself was traced as far as the northwestern boundary of the Jewish cemetery. A gateway was discovered in this wall about 150 feet southeast of the first-named tower, with a paved road leading up from it in a northeasterly direction.

On recommencing work in the spring of 1895, Dr. Bliss, following the work on the southeastern side of the Jewish cemetery down toward the valley, discovered another gateway. Sir Charles Wilson writes: "The wall certainly enclosed Siloam, and the wall and gateway are exactly in the position in which we should expect to find the wall and gateway of Eudocia (who was at Jerusalem between 438–454), and the character of the masonry seems to indicate that both had been largely built with stones from older buildings. Other details equally point to a date not earlier than the fifth century."—*PEF*, 1895, p. 373.

HERR VON SCHICK reports (*PEF*, 1895, p. 30) the discovery (in the angle outside the present city wall west of the Damascus gate) a postern 3 feet wide and 5½ to 6 feet high leading to a flight of steps going down to the foot of the wall, or rather of the rock scarp. By this postern one was able to go outside the town, though it was not a regular gateway.

**MAJOR CONDOR'S NOTES ON DR. BLISS' DISCOVERIES** (*PEF*, 1895, p. 330).—"There appears to me no doubt that the line of wall and scarp discovered is that of the ancient Jewish wall of Nehemiah and of Herod. . . . As regards the masonry, two periods seem now to be clearly indicated: (1) the rubble and rough masonry on the rock; (2) the hewn masonry of three kinds—smooth, drafted with smooth face, and drafted with bosses. The conclusions to which I think we shall finally be forced to adhere are: (1) that the rocky scarp is that of the Hebrew kings; (2) that the rough masonry may represent the work of Nehemiah; (3) that the Byzantine wall is that of the Empress Eudocia, about 450 B. C. As regards the gate found by Dr. Bliss, and which appears to be the Gate of the Essenes and the Dung Gate of Nehemiah in Bethso, three lintels are determined, of which the lowest



belongs to the period of the rough masonry, the second is directly superimposed, and the third is separated by a thickness of rubble, and belongs to the period of hewn masonry. The topmost lintel seems to belong to the Byzantine wall, the paved street to the older period."

**DISCOVERY OF A BYZANTINE CHURCH ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.**—In the *PEF* (1895, pp. 99–106) Dr. Bliss gives a full description (with ground-plan) of his excavation of this church, which had a nave and side aisles and a semicircular apse. On the north side of the apse is a chamber paved with patterned mosaic, which Dr. Bliss thinks served as a sacristy. On the pavement was a mosaic inscription in Greek: "For the repose of the Presbyter Eusebios, the Deacon Theodosios, and the Anchorites Eugenios, Elpidios, Euphratas, Agathonikos" (pub'd *PEF*, 1895, p. 86). The north aisle (the only one preserved) is paved with a patterned mosaic with a border. These two mosaics are in perfect preservation, and are composed of small cubes of red, black, and white stone. The apse pavement is laid in geometric forms of red, yellow, green, and white marble. In the centre of the apse-circle, under the place for the high altar, was found a marble box which is thought to be the reliquary of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. The dimensions of the church are given as about 72 feet long by 43 feet wide. Dr. Bliss concludes "from the form of the church, the character of the letters in the inscription, the manner of mosaic, and the material of the walls," that it was "a conventual establishment of early Byzantine times, perhaps the fifth or sixth century." Previous to Dr. Bliss' excavation Herr Schick had reported (*PEF*, 1895, pp. 32 ff.) the discovery (made while digging for foundations for new houses) of cisterns, and of several chambers which must have formed part of the conventual establishment; some of the rooms had mosaic floors formed of small cubes of white stone.

**CALILEE.**—For more than two years the Turkish Government has placed no obstacle to the excavations on ancient sites carried on by native explorers, which extended not only over the district between the seashore and the Jordan, but also over Jolân and 'Ajlun. Their operations extended especially along the brow of Mount Carmel between Haifa and Caesarea, which is honeycombed with ancient rock-cut tombs. Excavations were made on a large scale, and the tombs yielded ancient glass-ware, earthenware lamps and tear-bottles, jars, Roman and mediæval coins, bracelets, etc. A regular trade with European and native antiquarians was established. At length, the local governors have been instructed to entirely stop these excavations.

The plan of the tombs opened was very similar: an entrance with semicircular top ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 feet high and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 feet wide) led to a room 10 to 15 feet square and 6 feet high, with *loculi* and *kokim* cut in the



three walls. Amongst the 54 tombs opened on the site of Ten'ameh (near *Tell es Samak*) the greater number contained but two *loculi* under *arcosolia* in each wall; others only one, and some three.—G. SCHUMACHER in *PEF*, 1895, p. 110.

### PHILISTIA.

**GAZA** (NEAR).—A SHRINE OF THE EGYPTIAN MUT.—SAYCE's *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (p. 294) gives an account of the discovery (in 1892) of some traces of the worship of the Egyptian mother-goddess Mut. The natives then discovered several objects, among which were alabaster vases bearing the names of Amenophis III and Teie, and another object with an inscription showing that it belonged to a temple of the goddess Mut, and that this temple had been erected by Amenophis II, grandfather of Amenophis III. This discovery indicates that near Gaza there was, in the time of the XVIII dynasty, a shrine of the great Egyptian mother-goddess, and suggests that the slight traces of the worship of Maut or Mut hitherto known in Palestine and in Phœnicia may be but survivals of the worship of the Egyptian goddess on Syrian soil from the early time when she became naturalized there under the Egyptian domination. The El-Amarna tablets show that at that time Philistia, Phœnicia, and Palestine were practically one.—Dr. G. A. BARTON, in *Hebraica*, x, p. 205.

### ASIA MINOR.

**EXCAVATIONS.**—Numerous permits to excavate have been accorded by the Turkish government. *Fuad Pacha* is to excavate in the neighborhood of KLAZOMENAI; *M. Benndorf* has obtained, for the Austrian government, the excavation of EPHESOS, which has for its object the discovery of the altar of Praxiteles; the French Embassy have had conceded to them DIDYMA, where *MM. Haussouillier* and *Pontremoli* will conduct the excavations; the Museum of Berlin will operate at PRIENE and at MILETOS; *M. Ramsay* has announced his intention to work near KONIEH in 1896. The excavations at SINDJIRLI continue without its being known exactly what is to be discovered there.—S. R. in *RA*, Dec., '95.

**THE CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF ASIA MINOR.**—M. FRANZ CUMONT (in *MAH*, Oct., 1895) publishes a paper on Greek Christian inscriptions. He says: "I do not know if there exists at the present time a category of epigraphic texts as badly known as the Christian inscriptions of the east. While the Latin monuments of the same kind have been for the most part carefully published in the *Corpus* of Berlin or brought together in a number of special collections, volume IV of the

old work of Boeckh has remained almost our only guide in a similar study of the Hellenic world. Every one will acknowledge that these Greek inscriptions deserve to be better known; for, outside of their profane interest, they may render great service to ecclesiastical history. (1) They give to hagiography information more precise and more authentic than that furnished by the *Acta Sanctorum*; (2) they complete and correct the lists of bishops which Lequien formerly drew up with admirable care in his *Oriens Christianus*; (3) they give valuable indications with regard to the titles, hierarchy, power and riches of the clergy; (4) they give traces of all the great events that have moved the church, persecutions; (5) defeat of paganism; (6) struggle against heresies. (7) But their importance is above all considerable for the study of primitive Christian society, because they make up in a certain measure for the insufficiencies of manuscript sources. They show us the inward sentiments, they throw light on the daily engrossing thoughts, they reveal even the superstitions of the early faithful; and we may judge how completely their state of mind is still misunderstood, by the strangeness of certain hypotheses to which the discovery of the remarkable epitaph of an old Phrygian saint has given rise.

"These indications will be sufficient to show how useful would be a new collection of Greek Christian inscriptions. Having been obliged to suspend my larger work on the texts of Asia Minor, or rather, of the dioceses of Asia and of Pontus, I have thought that even a provisional inventory of the riches we possess would render some service both to travelling students and to scholars.

"It has been difficult to determine exactly what monuments to admit, for it is not always easy to know if an inscription is Christian or not. Some of the most ancient and therefore the most interesting are precisely those most difficult to distinguish from their pagan congeners. Many of the criteria which elsewhere would help one to distinguish Christian inscriptions most surely, are entirely lacking in Asia Minor. The general custom in the West, contrary to that of the pagans, of indicating on the sepulchres the day of the burial is almost unknown in the Eastern provinces. The *ixθῆς*, the anchor, the dove, all those symbols so characteristic and so frequent on the epitaphs of the catacombs, are completely lacking here. The cross itself and the monogram of Christ appear but rarely; no undoubted example can be cited before the iv cent. Nevertheless, if these signs fail us, we find in Asia Minor special formulas going back to a high antiquity which take the place of those indications which are lacking. On some monuments, very rare but extremely curious, we see families openly proclaiming themselves Christians. But the Christian origin of the most ancient monuments manifests itself, in general, in a less bold manner. They

prefer to have recourse to expressions more vague, understood only by the initiated.

"The inscriptions are classified by provinces and by cities, following the administrative and ecclesiastical division of the empire, just as it had existed almost without change from the iv to the ix cent.; but the geography of certain regions of Asia Minor is still so imperfectly known that many of the attributions must be only provisionary and subject to revision."

M. Cumont then gives a geographically classified list of 463 Greek Christian Inscriptions from various publications; he comments on 51 of these inscriptions; makes a chronological index of the dated inscriptions (from anterior to 216 to 1460); besides giving other classifications. Let us hope that M. Cumont will soon be able to complete his larger work on the texts of Asia Minor, as his claims for its usefulness are certainly valid.

**BITHYNIA.**—A large sarcophagus with an inscription, from the village of Exioglou near Nikomedeia, has been reported by M. Vasiladis (*BCH*, 1894, p. 537).

**BRANCHIDAI.**—EXCAVATION AT THE TEMPLE OF APOLLON DIDYMEUS.—At a sitting of the *AIBL* (of March 13, '96), M. B. HAUS-SOULLIER gave an account of the excavations which he undertook last year (with a mission from the government) on the site of the temple of Apollon Didymeus, not far from Miletos. The first excavations of the Didymaion go back to 1873 and were directed by MM. Rayet and Thomas. M. Haussoullier accompanied by M. Pontremoli, architect, began to disengage the long north side of the temple on the side of the Sacred Way. He exhibited photographs of the excavations (steps of the temple, bases of the columns, constructions before the temple, fragments of sculptures). All the pieces of sculpture and the architectonic fragments are archaic and give good hope for the campaign which is about to commence in April, 1896, the campaign of 1895 having been but one of preparation.—*RC*, 1896, No. 12.

**EPHESOS.**—The first excavations of M. Benndorf at Ephesos have given two Greek inscriptions and a marble head, and have uncovered a pavement. The works were then transferred to the Agora, where the marshy nature of the soil caused unexpected difficulties. Nevertheless, there were found a number of fragments of sculpture belonging to a good epoch, notably two bas-reliefs representing an adoration-scene and the large side of a sarcophagus (?) on which is figured the interior of a studio of sculpture. The work, interrupted in July, will be taken up in the autumn.—*S. R.* in *RA*, Feb., '96.

**HALIKARNASSOS (KARIA).**—FORM OF THE MAUSOLEION.—MR. EDMUND OLDFIELD, at the Feb. 17 meeting of the Hellenic Society, read

a brief summary of his views on the architectural form of the Halikarnassian Mausoleion, which he had more fully elaborated in three papers read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1893-4. He divided the evidence on the subject into literary and monumental. I. Passing over several references to the building in ancient authors as uninformative for the present purpose, he analyzed more closely than had hitherto been done the two well-known descriptive passages in Martial and Pliny. (1) From the former, which characterizes the building as "hanging in empty air," he argued that the principal story, or *pteron*, was composed merely of columns, pilasters, and piers, without any *cella* within, so as to show on every side from without a colossal statue at the centre. (2) Examining the language of Pliny, word by word, he showed the true interpretation of the description of the "pyramid over the *pteron*" to be that it *originally* terminated in an apex like that of a Roman *meta*, rising by twenty-four steps to a height equal to that of the pyramid below, but that it was truncated by Pythis to make a standing-place for his quadriga. (3) He then quoted a passage from Guichard's *Funérailles*, etc., relating, after an eyewitness, how the Knights of Rhodes in 1522 discovered the basement of the monument, the exterior of which, being square in plan and continuously graduated, is alluded to by Pliny as the *pyramis inferior*, truncated to carry the superstructure, whilst the interior included a large and handsome room, which was the real and only *cella* of the monument, with a smaller sepulchral chamber adjoining, which contained a costly tomb, perhaps that of Mausolos himself. II. The monumental evidence Mr. Oldfield limited to buildings posterior to B. C. 353, the date of Mausolos' death, and he exhibited illustrations of five, which might fairly be thought imitations of the Mausoleion, and therefore suggestive of what was its most characteristic feature. This feature was evidently the open *pteron*, within which, in one example, the central statuary still remained. He then explained, and illustrated by diagrams, the restoration he himself proposed, describing successively (1) the Basement; (2) the *podion*; (3) the *pteron*; (4) the Attic; (5) the Upper Pyramid. He showed that their aggregate height reached 126 ft., which exactly equalled the length, and was as 6 to 5 to the breadth of the building's base, as excavated by Sir Charles Newton. The addition of the quadriga increased the whole to the 140 ft. mentioned by Pliny. The *pteron* was surrounded by 36 columns of rather low proportion, and arranged in pycnostyle order, to provide for the exceptional weight of the pyramidal roof. By the 63 ft. stated as the length of the north and south sides was intended the length of the octostyle lateral colonnades. The east and west fronts are distinguished by hexastyle porticoes. The 411 ft. given as the *totus circuitus* was to be measured on the lower

step of the *pteron*. The ceilings, both of the *cella* in the basement and of the *pteron*, might be formed of hollow pyramids, similar to some at Pantikapaion and at Kameiros. All questions as to the arrangement of the sculptures Mr. Oldfield reserved for papers he proposes to read elsewhere.—*Athen.*, Feb. 29, '96.

**IONIA.**—The *repoussé* bronze basreliefs, discovered in 1812 at Perugia and at present preserved in that city, in Munich and in London, are as M. Petersen recognizes, archaic Ionian works and not Etruscan (*MIR*, 1895, p. 253; *AD*, t. II, pl. 15), and are allied to the sarcophagi of Klazomenai, to the hydrias of Caere, etc. Thanks to a long and patient study, the author has been able to reconstruct a carriage and a war-chariot of which a part of these reliefs formed the decoration. Only, I think, that M. Petersen places them a century too late (VI cent. instead of VII), and that it would have been profitable if he had, in his interesting paper, noticed the striking analogy between these reliefs and the works in metal discovered in the South of Russia.—S. R. in *RA*, Feb., '96.

**KAPPADOKIA.**—M. SCHAEFFER has studied, from the military point of view, the fortifications of Boghaz-Keui (*BPW*, 1895, p. 670). He distinguishes three periods in the works of defence, among which some show a remarkable knowledge of the subject. Before the principal door of the large building at the south, was found a tablet of terracotta with a cuneiform inscription.—S. R. in *RA*, Dec., '95.

**KLAZOMENAI.**—PAINTED TERRACOTTA SARCOPHAGUS.—M. SALOMON REINACH has presented to the *Académie des Inscriptions* a water-color drawing of a terracotta sarcophagus adorned with paintings which was discovered at Klazomenai, near Smyrna, and recently placed in the museum of Constantinople. Since 1882, when the first two sarcophagi were discovered, the number of objects of this kind has increased to twenty. The Louvre is in possession of three, two of which are almost entire and one a large fragment. They are probably the most ancient monuments of Greek painting in Asia. M. Reinach attempts to establish that they are all anterior to the year 550, which places some of them as far back as the year 660, and that their authors are under the influence of the famous painting of Bularchos which was acquired by Kandaules. In this painting, which represented a battle of the Magnesians and Ephesians, the Magnesian horsemen were accompanied by their dogs of war, a detail which appears on many sarcophagi. The authenticity of the anecdote of Pliny on the painting of Bularchos is thus also defended against the doubts of Welcker, with whom many modern critics have agreed.—*CA*, '95, p. 206.

**KYZIKOS (MYSIA).**—A basrelief from Kyzikos, belonging to the Museum of Tchintli-Kiosk, represents a chariot drawn by two horses

on the gallop; it is an interesting Ionian work of the VI cent., which M. Jobin has republished (*BCH*, 1894, p. 493), comparing it very justly to a terracotta plaque, preserved in the *Cabinet des médailles* (Rayet, *Études*, pl. iv).—S. R. in *RA*, Dec. '95.

**LAMPSAKOS (MYSIA).**—Sabri-efendi, in digging in his field, discovered five tombs, which, among other objects of small value, contained a gold ring. On the bezel of the ring was most artistically engraved a draped Aphrodite seated, holding in her hand a long stick with which she threatens Eros who is standing before her. The Direction of the Museum at Constantinople, hoping that they were on the track of a rich necropolis, made some further excavations. They found ten other tombs; from one of them they took a wreath of olive-leaves in gold; in others were found autonomous silver coins of Lampsakos, in a fine state of preservation, also small fragments of glazed pottery with representations in relief, etc. M. Joubin, who was present during the excavations, tells me that there were also taken from the tombs many fragments of red-figured vases of the close of the fifth cent.; on one of them is a figure of Priapos, the god of the Lampsakians.

At BIGA, near Lampsakos, was accidentally found a necropolis of the Roman period; the objects discovered comprise glass bottles of different forms and colors, common pottery, a figurine in terracotta representing a winged genius standing, playing with a dog, of very ordinary workmanship.—S. REINACH in *RA*, Dec. '95.

**LYDIA.**—**DYONYOS BASSAREUS.**—Mr. WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, in the *Classical Review* (x. p. 21), offers a solution of *Bassareus* (a surname of Dionysos in Lydia) as protector of the vines from the fox (*βασσάρα*), which was the chief enemy of the ancient vinegrower. Mr. R. sees in Dionysos Bassareus an analogue to Apollo Smintheus as protector of the grain crops from the mice (*σμήθος*, a mouse), and to Apollo Lukeios (or *Lukoktonos*, wolf-slaying) as the protector of the flocks from the wolves (*λύκος*, a wolf).

**LYKIA AND KARIA.**—**THE FRONTIER.**—On the frontier of Lykia and Karia the Gargy Chai, the only perennial stream running into the Telmessian Gulf, is rightly identified by Kiepert with the overflowing Glaukos. Pliny, the only geographer who mentions the Glaukos, says that it had a tributary, the Telmedios. If the Nif Chai is merely a tributary of the other it must be the Telmedios. If so, the name of Telmedios, a city which was on the Glaukos, must be given to the only ruins in the valley, at It-hissar, a site discovered by MM. Collignon and Duchesne, but not exactly described. It stands on the western bank of the river not far below its source. In the cliffs on the southeastern side are about a half-dozen rock-tombs. Originally there were more, but the rest have been covered by a landslip. On one, a temple-tomb, was an



illegible inscription in Greek letters of a good period; and in a ravine below are many ancient cut stones including bases of statues. Telandros is put by Pliny among the inland towns of Lykia, by Stephanos Byzantinos in Karia. It is mentioned in the Attic tribute-lists. Immediately to the west of the Glaukos, Pliny names Daidala, which is rightly identified by Hoskyns with the fortress of Assar in the valley of Ineje, which seems to be marked twice over in Kiepert's map. Hoskyns' identification has been accepted with some doubt, because the usually accurate Stadiasmos puts Daidala only fifty stades from Telmessos. It was always a very small place, although often mentioned because it happened to be the frontier town of Lykia and Karia. The boundary was ethnical, not merely political, for a few miles to the east are found the Lykian inscriptions of Macri, and a few miles to the west the Karian inscription of Charopia. Accordingly, our earliest authority puts the frontier somewhere on the Gulf of Macri, and it is fixed more definitely between Telmessos and Daidala by Stadiasmos. After numerous changes since the year 43 A. D., the new boundary was probably made the wide river Indos (Doloman Chai). The next place named by the authorities is Krya, and since no ancient site is known between Güjek and Kapu except Charopia this is probably that site, the distance agreeing very well with Stadiasmos. The remains are surprisingly scanty, consisting of some traces of rock-cut steps, a small fragment of ancient wall, and parts of some mediæval buildings. Some early importance is indicated by a number of pigeon-hole tombs and some rock-cut tombs.

Three and a half hours beyond Güjek, almost on the borders of the Dolomon plain, on an eminence are the ruins of an ancient town. The acropolis is well preserved and built of large square blocks. It has five gates, one of which is provided with an external stairway. Careful search failed to discover any vestige of public buildings, built-tombs or other monuments, only tombs of the pigeon-hole character were found. There are strong reasons for believing this to be the long sought Kalynda. Pliny puts, after Krya, *flumen Axon, oppidum Calyndna*. The river Axon can only be the Garkyn Chai, and close to that stream only a few miles from the sea are these ruins. Kalynda derives its celebrity almost entirely from the fact that a Kalyndian ship was run down by the Artemisia at Salamis. A passing reference in Herodotos and one in Polybios are the only historical notices, but it is said on good authority to have coined money. Kalynda was certainly in this neighborhood, and any more important ruins could hardly have escaped notice. Near the head of the Garkyn Chai, where a little side valley runs down, is a much injured temple-tomb once very beautiful, also the walls of a castle or very small town with many sarcophagi all



broken but one, which has an illegible inscription. There are few other ancient remains in this region.—W. ARKWRIGHT, in *JHS*, 1895, p. 93.

**MAGNESIA** (ON THE MAIANDROS, LYDIA).—M. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN has entirely uncovered the ruins of the theatre of Magnesia. As usual, there were found the plans of a Greek and a Roman edifice superposed and united. The most notable feature of the theatre is the existence of a subterranean passage which leads from the centre of the orchestra to the interior of the stage-constructions. A similar tunnel had already been noticed in the theatre of Eretria.—*REG*, VIII, 403.

M. KERN showed to the Archæological Society of Berlin a map of Magnesia drawn by M. Humann. It is the Magnesia founded by Thibron in 399, for the ancient city has completely disappeared under the alluvial deposits of the Maiandros. The greater part of the monuments had been identified; and the situation of the necropoli (one on the west, and the other on the road to Priene) had been determined (*BPW*, 1895, p. 892)—*RA*, Feb., '96.

**MAGNESIA** (ON MT. SIPYLOS, LYDIA).—An Armenian, while setting out vines on the Byzantine citadel, discovered two well-preserved statues and a signature of the sculptor MENAS, son of the Pergamenian Ajax (*BCH*, 1894, p. 541).—*RA*, Feb., '96.

**MYRINA** (MYSIA).—Among the recent additions to the collections of terracotta figurines in the British Museum, is one found at Myrina in Asia Minor, the other at Eretria in Eubœia. The first represents a youthful winged male figure leaning on a pillar and burning a butterfly over the flame of a small altar at its base. The statue is of very good workmanship, the drapery, wings and hair are so disposed as to form a background for the figure, which is entirely nude with the exception of a chlamys fastened on the right shoulder and thrown back over the left. Each feather of the wings is carefully indicated while the curves of the body are further emphasized by the folds of drapery added for greater effect. The attitude is a familiar one. In his left hand he holds a butterfly over the flame of an altar, while the right hand is held up to his face as if to shut out the sight of the victim's suffering, but to judge by the executioner's expression he was not affected otherwise than pleasantly by his occupation. We are forced at once to conclude that there is here some allusion to the relation of Eros with Psyche, but the Psyche myth as we know it had no literary existence until Apuleius gave the names of Cupid and Psyche to these personages. There is little in common between the Psyche of Apuleius and the Psyche of classical art, except their union with Eros. The former is a wingless, mortal maiden persecuted by Aphrodite on account of her beauty, the other is the winged companion of Eros. In this winged Psyche, literature aided by the Pla-

tonic conception of a winged soul may have embodied the soul ( $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ ) of man, but we cannot prove that she had any distinctive name until she appears with butterfly wings, obviously given because of the double meaning of the word  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ . Later these became her distinctive attribute and the butterfly was even substituted for her. All three forms appear on Pompeian wall-paintings. In some of the ancient representations of this subject, Eros is represented as weeping bitterly over his task; in others as performing it mischievously. This terracotta from Myrina differs from both of these conceptions in several points. Here Eros is simply burning the butterfly over an altar, not over a torch as in most of the other cases, and is perfectly indifferent to the fate of his victim, in spite of the fact that he interposes his hand between his eyes and his victim.—G. A. HUTTON, *JHS*, 1895, p. 132.

**PERGAMON.**—The *Ἀγροῖα* of Feb. 20 signalizes, on the acropolis of Pergamon, a dedication to Zeus  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , to all the gods and all the goddesses. Therefore, the acropolis of Pergamon still conceals inedited texts (*BCH*, 1894, p. 538).—S. R. in *RA*, Dec. '95.

**PHRYGIA.**—A paper on Gordion, with a map, has been published by M. E. Naumann in the *Festschrift* of the geographical society of Munich (1894). I only know the title of it from the *Anzeiger* (1895, p. 140).—S. R. in *RA*, Dec. '95.

**PONTOS.**—A new series of inscriptions from Amisos, from Laodikeia of Pontos, from Komana, and from Caesarea, copied by P. Girard, have been published by M. Th. Reinach (*REG*, 1895, pp. 77 ff.).

**AMISOS.**—In laying the railroad from Samsoun to Baffia, the workmen discovered fragments of a bronze statue of an emperor, of natural size, which appears to be of the III cent. A. D. It is covered with a beautiful green patina and can easily be restored.—S. R. in *RA*, Dec. '95.

**TCHAN.**—A Turkish peasant, working in his field at Tchan, discovered a bronze statuette 13 cm. high, which was sent to the Museum of Tchimli-Kiosk by way of the Dardanelles. The patina is of a beautiful light-green color. The head, which bears a helmet, is entirely corroded on the front; the crest had been anciently broken. I owe to the kindness of M. Baltazzi a photograph of this very curious figurine, of which the analogy with certain Etruscan Minervas is striking (p. ex. Sacken, *Bronzen*, pl. XVIII, 2; Froehner, *Musées de France*, pl. 20).

I read a paper on this subject at the *Académie des inscriptions* (July, 1895). On this occasion, I endeavored to establish that this type of Athena is that of the Athena Lindia, a colossal figure preserved at Constantinople up to the XIII cent.; and that the Athena Promachos of Pheidias is known to us by the statuette in the Museum at Boston discovered near Coblenz (cf. my *Bronzes figurés* No. 12).—S. R. in *RA*, Dec. '95.

**TROIA (MYSIA).—EXCAVATIONS IN 1894.**—The excavations of Dr DOERPFFELD in Troy during the year 1893, reviewed in this JOURNAL 1895, p. 495, were resumed by Dr. Doerpfeld in 1894 in company with H. WINNEFELD and H. SCHMIDT, archaeologists, and A. GOETZE, prehistoric archaeologist. The definite aim of these investigations was to more thoroughly examine City VI and to ascertain whether there was a city and necropolis in the adjoining plain. These excavations have resulted in substantial additions to the plan published in *Troja, 1893*. The surrounding-wall was first examined with the result that all of it, with the exception of the northern portion, may be now defined. The recovered portion measures some 300 m. in length; the destroyed portion about 200 m. In plan this wall was a regular polygon in each outside corner of which there is a slight projection, instead of the simple angle. The purpose of these projections is doubtful. They seem to have served here merely an artistic purpose, since they are no greater than from 0.10 to 0.30 m. in depth. They seem to be the historical survivals of projections which served some useful purpose of defence. The wall measures from 4.60 to 5 m. in thickness at the base and is sharply inclined. Above this base the wall was perpendicular and was only from 1.80 to 2 m. in thickness. In construction it surpassed other city-walls of the Mykenæan period. It is not uniformly well built. This, however, seems not to be due so much to a difference in period, as to a rapid improvement in the art of building. Three gates and one door have been discovered. The door which is found in the northeast tower has been already described in *Troja, 1893*. The first gate is south of this tower and is well protected by an extension of the outer wall. The second gate lies to the southeast of the citadel and seems to have been the chief entrance. It corresponds in situation to the older gate of the second city and to that of the Roman Ilion. It is 3.20 m. broad and protected by a strong tower on the left. Two high quadrangular piers stood in front of this gateway, reminding us of similar piers in Kypros. The third gateway lies to the southwest and was blocked up during the Mykenæan period. Whether there were any gates on the north side of the acropolis is unknown.

Of the three towers which were excavated—one near the principal entrance has been already mentioned; it contained a central room. A second larger tower projects beyond the eastern wall and served as a defence for the eastern wall and of the eastern entrance. It contained a room 6.80 m. broad by 4.50 m. deep and seems to have been entered only from above. The third tower in the northeastern angle of the citadel was discovered in 1893, but not fully excavated. It measures 18 m. in breadth by 9 m. in depth. This huge tower with its heavy protecting walls served as a defence for the chief spring of the citadel.

This spring seems to have been destroyed in the Greek period, when the great flight of steps beyond this tower was built. Another spring of the Mykenæan period has been discovered, and a third, probably of later date, over which a circular marble building was erected.

Inside of this city-wall several additions have been made to the buildings described in *Troja, 1893*. Three of these are found to have on their southern sides the same system of angular projection that characterized the city-wall. Between these buildings and the city-wall on the southern and eastern sides was originally a broad pathway, which before the destruction of the city was largely taken up by a series of small rooms in which were found large *pithoi* which were used to contain oil, wine, and water. The portion of the citadel extending from the chief entrance to the *propylaion* of the temple of Athena has been left unexcavated. Many small objects were found of no special value, chiefly fragments of native pottery and Mykenæan vases. Some excavation was also carried on in the lower strata resulting in the discovery of an additional portion of the wall of City II. The eastern peristyle of the sanctuary of Athena was also discovered and a third Roman theatre. Some evidence was also found of a lower city, belonging to the Mykenæan period, apparently without walls. The many graves which were found belong to the Roman period. The intention to excavate the tumuli of the Troad, in which it was hoped to discover Mykenæan tombs, was unfortunately thwarted by the authorities.—W. DOERPFELD, *Mith. Athen.*, 1894, pp. 380-94.

Herr WINNEFELD reported these excavations to the Archaeological Society of Berlin, *Arch. Anzeig.*, 1895, p. 12; *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1895, p. 1468. CHR. BELGER in the *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1895, Nos. 47, 48, reviews Dörpfeld's *Troja, 1893*, and E. Bötticher's *Troja im Jahre 1894*. Bötticher's fanciful theory, to which he adheres with so much pertinacity, receives little mercy in Belger's hands.

Dr. DOERPFELD finished in 1894 the exploration which he had begun in 1893 on the site of the excavations of Schliemann at Hissarlik (Troia). It appears to be established that Schliemann, carried away by his zeal, had overlooked the very end which he wished to attain, and that the burnt city, which he thought to be the real Troia, is a more ancient foundation going back beyond the year 2000 B. C. M. Doerpfeld discerned, in one of the layers of ruins (discovered but disregarded by Schliemann), a city which must be the Ilios of Priam contemporaneous with the Mykenai of Agamemnon; he removed the surrounding walls, the towers, and some of the houses that filled it. It is to be understood that this little acropolis, analogous to that of Tiryns, is not the whole of the city but simply its citadel, which

Homer called *Pergamos*. It was surrounded, lower down, by a city reserved for the habitation of the common people, some traces of which also have been found.—*REG*, viii, 401.

### KYPROS.

WERE THE FIRST INHABITANTS OF KYPROS HITTITE-PELASGIANS?—

P. DE CARA (*Civiltà cattolica*, 1895, pp. 143, 427) has entered upon a study of the Hittite-Pelasgians in the islands of the Aegean Sea beginning with Kypros. The first inhabitants of the island were not Phœnicians but Pelasgians who came from Syria, that is to say Hittites. King Kinyras is *Ko-ap*=the Canaanite (the country of Canaan is called *Kinahhi* in a tablet from Tel-el-Amarna). The name of the island itself would be explained by that of the Kafti (Κήφρι); the other name, Σφήκσα, would be identical with *Kηφ-εα*, that is to say, the island of the Kephene Syrians. The Egyptians called it *Asi* (Maspero) or *Aschi* (Brugsch), at the Ptolemaic epoch *Assinai*. M. Maspero thought that the name of *Asia* was derived from it, but P. de Cara does not think so, *Asi* and *Asi-a* not being other than (*Kh*)*ati* and *Kh(atia)*, that is to say, various forms of the name of the Hittites. If there are not found at Kypros monuments similar to those of Asia Minor and of Kappadokia it is because the Hittites who peopled it separated themselves at an early period from the rest of the race, and because Kypros, from the end of the XVI century, was subject to the Pharaohs. The Kypriote syllabary is nevertheless of Hittite origin, as it could not have been borrowed from any of the other occupants of the island, but it is not necessary to admit that it is derived from the monumental epigraphy of the Hittites: on the contrary, everything leads us to think that it belongs to their demotic writing. Passing then to Rhodes, the author treats of the Korybantes, then of the Idaean Daktyloi and of the Telchines, whom he considers as Hittites, and importers of the metallurgy and the worship of the Great Asiatic Mother. Finally he suggests that the *Saturnus* of the Latins has nothing in common with *saturare*, *sationes*, but that it is simply the *Set* or *Sutekh* of the Hittites, *Set-ur*=*Sat-ur* signifying "the great Set." The Korybantes, sons of Kronos (Saturnus), are metallurgists; now the word signifying iron, *σίδηρος*, is not of Greek origin, but signifies *the metal of Set*. The golden age of Latium, *Saturno rege*, would be that of the introduction of the metals into Italy by the Hittite-Pelasgians.

In the *Academy* (1895, I, p. 446), M. Sayce published a rather superficial account of the first volume of the *Hethi-Pelagi*. He refuses to discuss the etymologies of the author, but concedes that he has established the existence of a very ancient civilization common to Southern Europe and to Asia Minor. On the origin of this civiliza-

tion the critic is in accord, contrary to me, with P. de Cara and considers it as Asiatic. At the close M. Sayce tells in an interesting manner how he was led in 1876 and 1879 to the "Discovery of the Hittites." See also an account of the same volume by M. Maspero, in the *Débats du soir*, July 12, 1895.—S. REINACH in *RA*, Feb. '96.

THE SPHINX OF MARION=ARSINOË.—This sculpture at present in the Louvre, which M. COUVE has published after M. O. Richter (*BCH*, 1894, p. 316, pl. vii), is a curious piece of Ionic sculpture of the VI century. I have recently seen, in the possession of M. A. Engel, the photograph of an analogous monument discovered in Spain, which also has been since placed in the Louvre. The article of M. Couve is extremely well done and contains very just comparisons, for example, with the Aphrodite of the dove at Lyon.—S. REINACH in *RA*, Dec. '95; cf. *AJA*, x. 97.

GRÆCO-PHœNICIAN ARCHITECTURE.—At a meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Dr. MAX OHNEFALSCH-RICHTER read a paper on *Græco-Phœnician Architecture in Cyprus, with special reference to the Origin and Development of the Ionic Volute*. The lecturer first gave a description of the three royal tombs discovered by him at Tamassos, in Kypros. These sepulchres of a Græco-Phœnician type of architecture were, he maintained, of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. A feature of peculiar interest in these subterranean stone buildings was the direct imitation in stone of constructions of wood, and this in a perfection which had never before been met with in remains of ancient monuments. Wooden columns, windows, locks, bolts, roofs, were all reproduced in stone. He had found their counterparts surviving in modern buildings of Kypriote villages. Dr. Richter then proceeded to give reasons for his conclusion that the Ionic volute derived from the Egyptian lotus-flower design, and that the same origin was traceable in regard to the Greek palmette and anthemion. The theory which would ascribe the origin of the Ionic volute to the Assyrian sacred palm-tree could no longer be maintained. A small clay model of a sanctuary—evidently a votive offering—discovered at Idalion, in Kypros, some time ago, showed again the two lotus-capitals on the columns supporting the porch. Some Hathor-capitals discovered in Kypros demonstrated the fact that Kyprian artists during the Græco-Phœnician period combined Egyptian, Assyrian, and Greek elements. On one of the columns was sculptured a design of a complicated lotus-tree with winged sphinxes. Dr. Richter next referred to Herr Koldewey, a German architect, who had put forward a new theory, in his book *Neandreaia*, distinguishing between three classes of archaic capitals with curved volutes—the first, with crossed lines, the Kyprian; the second with vertical volutes, called Aeolian; and the



third, with horizontal volutes, called Ionic. These three he considered to be branches all growing out of the same trunk, which was of old Kappadokian origin and which he declared to be the prototype. Herr Koldewey denied any connexion of the Ionic capital with Egypt or with the Egyptian lotus-flower. Herr Puchstein, in his book on the Ionic capital, appeared to be of the same way of thinking. The Kappadokian columns of a baldachino from a rock-relief which had been put in evidence by the above-mentioned authors were extremely simple. The whole volute merely consisted of two spirals connected by a canal and bent downward. In the upper line of the canal of this Kappadokian capital, Koldewey saw the horizontal tendency of the Ionic volute to be latent. The two spirals touched the vertical line of the shaft of the column, and in this fact Koldewey saw the vertical tendency of the Ionic volute in the same Kappadokian capital. Dr Richter, however, had found, during the excavations which he had carried out for the German Emperor, a small votive column even more regular and more simple than the Kappadokian column. The canal above was horizontal and was covered already by an abacus. The spirals also touched the shaft with their inner and lower parts in a more finished and regular form than in the Kappadokian example. He maintained that the columns from Kappadokia, Kypros, the oldest archaic Ionic volutes from Olympia and other places were simplifications of much more complicated Græco-Phœnician volutes, which on their part derived from the Egyptian lotus. A reference to the architectural details of one of the three Royal tombs of Tamassos showed how a complicated lotus-design was changed into a more simple form, and thus prepared the way for the formation of the Hellenic Ionic volute. From an interesting series of Græco-Phœnician Kyprian capitals, with palmettes over the volutes, to which Dr. Richter referred, he showed that the three types of capitals classified by Koldewey actually occurred in Kypros. The Ionic volute, with its beautifully ornamented *kymation*, which belonged to the archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesos, and which had been lately pieced together by Dr. A. S. Murray from fragments in the British Museum, he fully admitted to be the oldest existing example of a pure Hellenic Greek volute. He referred to Dr. Murray's paper, lately read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, showing the great importance of the Ephesian capital preserved at the British Museum, especially since its no less valuable twin-brother, the well-known Samian capital, had disappeared. As a last illustration Dr. Richter exhibited a photograph of an Ionic Greek capital now in the Kypros museum at Nikosia, which was discovered at Larnaka in 1879. In this case there was no ornamental *kymation*



properly speaking. The sole decoration below the lower margin of the canal and the spiral consisted of two palmettes or lotus-flowers growing out of corners. The upper and lower margins of the canal were not straight, but considerably concave, and both lines ran parallel to each other. The proportions of the capital were very harmonious and Greek, but it was difficult to date it. The concavity of the lines of the canal seemed to point to a later date than the archaic Ephesian volute of the Artemision.—*Acad.*, Dec. 28, '95.

[This reads as if Dr. Richter were propounding a new theory of the origin of the Ionic capital. The Royal Institute of British Architects are doubtless aware that the lotiform origin of the Ionic capital was suggested as long ago as 1837 by LEPSIUS in the *Annali dell' Inst.*, p. 98, and in 1882 for the Kypriote Ionic capital by COLONNA-CECCALDI, *Monuments de Chypre*, p. 69. In recent years this theory has been set forth with convincing thoroughness by Professor W. H. GOODYEAR in this JOURNAL, vol. III (1887), pp. 271-302, and in his *Grammar of the Lotus*, 1891.—ED.]

**KOURION.**—DISCOVERY OF A MYKENÆAN NECROPOLIS.—Following up their excavations at Amathous in 1894, the Trustees of the British Museum chose for their field of operation in 1895 the site of Kourion which General Cesnola's discoveries made famous a number of years ago. It was known that he had left certain spots untouched. These have now been explored under the direction of Mr. H. B. Walters. The special feature of the recent excavations was the discovery of a necropolis dating from the Mykenæan period, and thus apparently confirming the statement of Strabo that Kourion had originally been founded by a colony from Argos. It would seem that this cemetery, which lies on the side of a low hill to the east of the village of Episcopi, represents the site of the original Argive or Mykenæan foundation, and that the city had been transferred to the site now known as the akropolis towards the end of the sixth century B. C., that being the date of the earliest tombs there.

In the Mykenæan tombs, along with pottery of the kind usually known by that name, was found a considerable quantity of rude and primitive pottery of local make, such as is found in Kypriote tombs of the pre-Phœnician period. These vases are hand-made, and decorated either with patterns in white or in relief on a dark ground, or with simple black patterns on a creamy ground. The Mykenæan vases are mostly of a character familiar from Dr. Schliemann's discoveries; but among them are also some specimens of remarkable rarity, in particular two large kraters which belong to a class previously known only by four examples, found on pre-Phœnician sites in Kypros, and a fragment at Nauplia in Greece. The method of decora-

tion is purely Mykenæan, and the clay is probably of an imported kind; but the style of the figures is decidedly rude and betrays local influence. On both vases we have human figures in two-horse chariots, painted in black on a bright-buff ground, and on one is a series of female figures in panels divided by borders, a style of decoration hitherto unknown. The field of each vase is covered with ornaments characteristic of this period. Of vases of the Ialysos type we have a tall, elegant, two-handled cup, painted with cuttle-fish, and a funnel-shaped vase decorated with murex-shells. Another very remarkable and almost unique vase is of a shape known as pseud-amphora, the mouth being covered up and a spout in the side used instead; this vase is decorated with an octopus on either side. In one tomb was found, along with two or three Mykenæan vases of the ordinary type, a sard scarab with Egyptian hieroglyphs, which has been pronounced by competent authorities to bear the name of Khonsu, a deity that was not introduced into Egypt until the xxvi dynasty (666-527 B. C.); moreover, neither the shape nor the material of the gem is such as we are accustomed to associate with an earlier date than the seventh century B. C. In another tomb was found a Phœnician cylinder with a design of a late conventionalized character, which cannot be dated earlier than 600 B. C., and with it were some gold ornaments of a common Mykenæan type. But incomparably the most important object in these finds is a small steatite scaraboid, on which is an intaglio design of a bull lying down. The work is very admirable, the drawing most masterly, recalling the famous Vaphio gold-cups in the museum at Athens. From the shape of the stone and the technical skill employed, it is evident that this gem must belong to a very advanced period of Mykenæan art, possibly as late as 700 B. C. Other gems which may be mentioned are a scarab of Thothmes III, found in a tomb of recent date; a scaraboid with an ibex; and an archaic scaraboid gem set in a silver ring, representing Herakles running. In the later or sixth-century Kourion, one particular site proved to be rich in gold ornaments. It seems very probable that Cesnola's treasure was originally gathered for the most part on this site, and this opinion has been shared by other explorers subsequent to his time. Besides sundry finger-rings, earrings and similar ornaments, a fine pair of bronze bracelets, plated with gold, ending in ram-heads, should be mentioned; also a gold-chain necklace of very delicate workmanship. The only bronze object that calls for special mention was an archaic Greek statuette of a female figure, dating from the sixth century; it had formed part of an elaborate lamp-stand.

Among the vases found in the later tombs is a large *hydria* of black glazed ware, on which figures are painted in thick white, with details

marked in yellow. Many vases with similar decoration but of inferior execution have been found in Southern Italy, and are supposed to have been made at Tarentum. On the site of what appears to have been a temple to Demeter and Kora was found a Greek inscription, recording a dedication to those deities, which has the peculiar interest of being written first in the ordinary Greek letters, and next in the Kypriote syllabary or local alphabet, in which each sign represents, not a single letter, but a syllable—*e. g.*, the first word *Demetri* is written *da-ma-ti-ri*, each two letters being represented by one character.—*Biblia*, Feb., 1896; *cf. London Times*, Jan. 6, '96.

**LARNAKA.**—FOUR PUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.—Among the treasures excavated at Larnaka, in Kypros, in 1894 by Mr. J. L. Myres, of Magdalen College, are four Phœnician inscriptions, which have a considerable amount of interest.

I. The first is inscribed on a stele with a moulded cornice. Below the inscription is a curious device shaped rather like a ploughshare; but what it actually represents it is difficult to say. I can find nothing like it on other figured Phœnician stones. The inscription itself, cut in bold and elegant letters, may be transliterated as follows:

לעבדעשתר בן אשמן      "To 'Abd-'ashtar, son of Eshmun,  
חרש עגלת פגל ז      the chariot-smith: he made this. . ."

All the letters are perfectly clear and present no difficulty. The stone is broken at the end of the second line, leaving only the letter 'y; but the rest of the word may be readily supplied and [בך] read, *i. e.*, "may [the deity] bless [him]:" as often on stones from Kypros, *e. g.*, *CIS.* 10, 4. 25. 89, 3. 94, 5, &c. As to the form of the letters, they are of the usual type of Phœnician found in Kypros; א, however, is decorated with a hook at the right end of its lower transverse line, and ל with a hook at the top.

The name of the person who set up the pillar to himself (so I understand the sentence) is 'Abd-'ashtar, "servant of 'Ashtar." On the Phœnician inscriptions the name of the deity always has the feminine ending, 'Ashtar = 'Ashtoreth, the goddess Astarte—*e. g.*, *CIS.* 115, 1 (עבדעשתרת). 3, 15. 16, 18, &c.; the only parallel for 'Ashtar is to be found on the Moabite Stone, 1. 17, עשתר כמש. So we have here either a unique instance of the name 'Ashtar in Phœnician, or else an oversight of the stone-cutter, who left out the final *t* by mistake.

The first two words of 1. 2 are clearly חרש עגלת, which I read עגלת חרש (חרש) —*i. e.* "maker of chariots." 'Abd-'ashtar describes himself by his profession: he was a chariot-smith. For חרש *cf. CIS.* 86, 13a (*cf. 2 Chron.* xxiv. 12); 64 חרש = ἀρχιτέκτων, 274, 3; but in none of these cases is the word used exactly as here. The word עגלת is found in *CIS.* 346, 3, where the donor of the stele adds after his name עץ עגלת—

*i. e.*, "[maker?] of chariots of wood." The interest of the phrase in our inscription is that it points to the existence in Kypros of a regular trade of chariotsmiths; in this case they were makers of metal chariots, as the word חרש implies. It may be added that the chariot is copiously represented in native Kyprian art from the beginning of the Græco-Phœnician period, while iron was freely worked in Kypros from the ninth or eighth century onwards; ancient workings are found within twenty miles of Kition.

II. The next inscription is a small fragment, cut in larger, coarser letters than No. I. It is as follows:

לשכר	"To Shamar . . .
כצבת	this pillar
לם	to them."

The proper name in full may have been Shamar-baal (*cf.* CIS. 384). At first I was disposed to read the letters לשכר "to the name of R . . .;" but this is not a usage found on the Phœnician monuments. It is better to read the letters as a fragment of a proper name. Both I and II are now in the Nikosia Museum; both were discovered in the necropolis of Kition.

III. The third inscription is cut in small, clear letters round the brim of what was once a marble basin or vessel of some kind. Only seventeen letters have survived:

אָרני בן כלקרת בן ככל ע	"his lord, the son of Melqarth, the of Mikal ' . . ."
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The form אָרני occurs several times on a group of inscriptions in the somewhat obscure expression בר אָרני, which is generally understood as an equivalent for עבד אָרני "servant of his lord;" it is just possible that this may have been the phrase here. The א in אָרני is only partially preserved; but there is not much doubt about the letter. The last word of the inscription is interesting. ככל is the name of the deity Mikal or Makul (Euting prefers the Mēkil from כול), usually found preceded by רשף, Reshef-Mikal—*e. g.*, CIS. 89, 3. 90, 2. 91, 2. 93, 5. 94, 5—all from Kypros. The letter נ follows ככל on the inscription; and as Mikal here is evidently the name of a person, I would suggest that the full form of the name was מִכָּל עֲזָר Mikal-azar = "Mikal helps," on the analogy of עֲזָר מִכָּל, Baal-azar, CIS. 256, 2. 3. At the same time, it is worth noticing that both in No. I and in this inscription, No. III, the divine names Eshmun and Melqarth are used as personal proper names. This stone is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The date of these inscriptions cannot be determined with anything like precision; but the forms of the letters would suggest a date early in the Ptolemaic period, at the close of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B. C.

IV. The fourth inscription is the longest and most important. It is cut on a magnificent stele of Pentelic marble, perfectly preserved. Mr. Myres has presented it to the British Museum, where it is now to be seen in the Cyprus room (No. 31). It was found in the same place as Nos. I and II, in the necropolis of Kition, outside old Larnaka. I give a transliteration and rendering:

מצבת אז אש יטנא ארש רב כרסרם לאבי לפרסי  
 רב כרסרם בן ארש רב כרסרם בן מנחם רב כרסרם  
 בן משל רב כרסרם בן פרסי רב כרסרם ולא-  
 לשכובל בת בעלרם בן כלכית בן עזר רב חז  
 ענם יל כשכב נחתנם לעלם

"This is the pillar which Arish, chief of the Stewards (?), erected to his father, to Parsi, chief of the Stewards (?), son of Arish, chief of the Stewards (?), son of Menahem, chief of the Stewards (?), son of Mashal, chief of the Stewards (?), son of Parsi, chief of the Stewards (?); and to his mother, to Shemzabal, daughter of Baal-ram, son of Milkjathan, son of 'Azar, chief of the Treasurers, over the bed of their rest forever."

Some of the proper names occur elsewhere on the Phœnician inscriptions. *Arish* is a common name, *CIS.* 132, 4. 193, 1-2. 196, 3, etc.; *Menahem*, *CIS.* 87, 3. 103 b, etc.; *Mashal* occurs in the compound name *Melqarth-Mashal*, *Carth.* 130, 4-5; *Baal-ram*, *CIS.* 88, 2. 89, 2. 90, 1; *Milk-jathan* occurs frequently as the name of a king of Kition and Idalion; *'Azar* is also found, *Carth.* 27, 5-6. 26, 2. 3-4; the rest of the names are not met with on other inscriptions, so far as I know. The expression עיל כשכב נחתנם "upon their bed of rest," may be exactly paralleled by *CIS.* 46, 2. But the chief interest of this inscription lies in the two phrases רב כרסרם and רב חזענם. As regards the meaning of the first, we may be assisted by the use of the word *sursâr* in Arabic = "intelligent" אל, one who manages a property well." This is probably not a pure Arabic word; Fraenkel (*Aram. Fremdwörter in Arab.*, p. 186) conjectures that it is a loan-word from the Aramaic כרסור, and quotes in illustration *Pesiqta*, ed. Buber, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>. 3. From the Arabic usage we may suppose that רב כרסרם means "chief of the stewards or commissioners," public officers who administered the property of the state or of the temple. In Rabbinic Hebrew כרסור is frequently found in the sense of "mediator" (see Levy, *s. v.*); but the Arabic usage seems to be most suggestive.

The meaning of the other expression, רב חזענם, can be determined with greater probability. In Arabic the root *hazana* means "to lay up, to store, to guard;" the noun formed from it, *hâzinun*, is used of "one who guards property;" in the Quran, 39, 73 the plural is used for the keepers or guardians of Paradise. It seems, therefore, likely

enough that this may be the explanation of the word on the inscription: "chief of the treasurers," or custodians of public property.

The form חוקנים, which, after repeated examination of the stone, I feel convinced is the true reading, exhibits a noticeable feature. The redundant *y* is here a vowel-letter and represents long *ā*. This is a usage not uncommon in the Neo-Punic inscriptions—e. g., נער, for נר *Carth.* 186, 2. 358, 3. נרע *CIS.* 207, 3. 232, 3. פן = פנ *CIS.* 188, 1 (*cf.* Schröder, *Die Phön. Sprache*, p. 91f.). But all these examples are from late Carthaginian inscriptions from North Africa; it is certainly curious to find *y* used as a vowel-letter on a Kyprian inscription which may be dated about 250 B. C. We must suppose that it is an isolated example, and wait for further discoveries.—G. A. COOKE, in *Academy*, Jan. 18, 25, '96.

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